

A 97
T R E A T I S E
O F S P E C T E R S O R
straunge Sightes, Visions and Ap-
paritions appearing sen-
sibly vnto men.

Wherein is delivered, the Nature of
Sprites, Angels, and Diuels : their
power and properties : as also of
Witches, Sorcerers, Enchanters,
and such like.

With a Table of the Contents of the severall
Chapters annexed in the end of the Booke.

Newly done out of French into English.

P. De Lojer



AT LONDON
Printed by Val. S. for Mathew Lowmes.
1605.

Title Page

Page 1

A TREATISE OF SPECTERS OR straunge Sights, Visions and Apparitions appearing sensibly vnto men. Wherein is delivered, the Nature of Spirites, Angels, and Diuels: their power and properties: as also of Witches, Sorcerers, Enchanters, and such like. With a Table of the Contents of the severall Chapters annexed in the end of the Booke. Newly done out of French into English. [Graphic omitted] AT LONDON Printed by Val. S. for Mathew Lownes. 1605.

Dedication

Page 2

TO The Kings most excellent Maiestie, of great Brytaine, France and Ireland, and c. Most gracious and dread Sovereigne; As it is a duty imposed vpon parents by Nature, to provide for the education and maintenance of their infants: so it is a priuiledge allowed vnto the studious, both by reason and custome: to secure the fruits of their studies from the detractions of the envious, by the countenance and patronage of some great personages, either excellent for their vertues, or eminent for their greatnesse. Vpon this ground (as also vpon some other speciall inducements,) I have presumed to

Page 3

present vnto your Highnes this Treatise touching the Apparition of Spirits: and discoursing of the Nature, properties and power, both of Angels, Diuels, Sorcerers, Witches, and such like. One of the speciall reasons inducing me herevnto, is: for that as the first Authour thereof, a Frenchman and a Civill Lawyer, did dedicate it to the Queene mother of Fraunce Katherine de Medicis, a great Princesse: to whom (it seemeth) in regard of his particular preferment he was specially obliged: so my selfe, his like in profession (though wanting the meanes of like hope and fortune) had a desire that this French stranger (now made an English Denison) might sojourne here vnder the royall protection of your Greatnesse: whose excellency of puissance, surpassing knowledge, and princely vertues exempted from comparison, have made you observed of the greatest, admired of the wisest, and endeered in the love and hearts of all good men. A second Motive was, the desire of the partie by whose Motion I vndertooke to bring him acquainted with the English: who being a man worthily regarded of the best, and not vnknown to your

Maiestie, did wish to have him presented to your Highnesse. G1
The third and last (though not the least cause) which drew both
our desires to concur in this point, was: that I may vse his
owne wordes written to a great Peere of this Realme, touching
this Treatise: Because your Maiestie hath heretofore most
religiously and learnedly written of this Argument, and hath
concluded, That Witches are the generation of Vipers, -notes-
G1Moister Butler of Cambridge.

Page 4

and the seede of the wicked Serpent: whose head you have also
bruised, both by divine lawe, and by Act of Parliament.
Wherefore seeing this straunger is not onely a professed foe to
all these damned artes, and diabolicall illusions of Witches,
Sorcerers, and Coniurers, and to all their fauourers and
adherents: but like a stoute and most worthie Champion, hath
also overthrowne all their forces, and troden their defences vnder
foote: All these reasons put together, do yeeld me a full
assurance, that as your Highnesse is best able, so you will most
graciously bee pleased to patronize and protect him; and the
rather, because he is a straunger. This fauour if your most
excellent Maiestie shall vouchsafe him: for mine owne part, as
my heart was long since vowed yours in all dutie, love, and
fidelitie; so my soule shall powre it selfe foorth in prayers for the
blessed preservation of your Maiestie in all happines, both of
temporall and eternall felicitie. Your Maiesties Most faithfull
subiect in all humilitie. Zacharie Iones.

Letter to the Queen Mother

Page 5

The Epistle of the French Authour to the Queene Mother of the
King. Madame, albeit the first subiect moouing me to write this
Treatise of Specters, was principally to consute certaine auncient
Philosophers, Atheists and Libertines, who did hold and
maintaine this opinion, that there were not any substances in
being, but such only as were corporall and having bodies: Yet so
it is, that I have not herein employed my pen agaynst those
whom both all the Bookes of the whole worlde, and venerable
antiquitie, and even Nature it selfe have condemned: so much as
I have done agaynst certaine perverse spirits and brainsicke
persons of our age, who have invented most strange and
variable opinions: as also agaynst some new Dogmatists, who to
the intent they might secretly insinuate (as I * suppose) into the
minds of men, an error of the Epiourts: That the soules of men
have no being after death) have altogether denied their

apparition. Howbeit; that all the Doctours of the Church doe confute them: and Saint Ierome particularly hath written thereof, a certaine Booke agaynst Vigilantius the Gaule: wherein he sheweth by lively reasons, that the soules of the sinner after their dissolution may haunt or frequent these inferiour places. Now (Madame, I -notes- *This is but a suppose; For it is no consequence, because the soules of dead men appeare not, that therfore they are not.

Page 6

knowing that you have in aetestation all such Dogmatists, and that your desire is above all things, that our France should be purged of such mensters: which (as the same Saint Ierome writeth to Vigilantius) could never endure or suffer such persons: My desire was that this woorke of mine shoulde come foorth vnder the name of your Highnesse, to the intent the same might march the more hardily vnder your fauour throughout France, in despite of all detractions, and malignant persons: who will so much the more feare to assaile or reprove it, when they shall see that it is vnder your protection and defence: and that you have with a gracious countenance receyved it. Madame, I pray God the Creator to give you long life, with entrease of greatnesse and prosperitie. From Angiers this 21. of Inne 1586. Your most humble subiect: PETER DE LOIER.

To the Learned Reader

Page 7

To the learned Reader. My Maisters, the worthinesse of this worke commended by some of good iudgement, and the friendly intertainment which you gave the Epirot Prince Scanderbeg (when of French hee became English) hath caused this stranger and a Freuchman to bee recommended vnto mee by my friend, with a desire to have him brought acquainted with our English language and fashions. To satisfie his request, I have vndergone the paines, and you are now (if you please) to reape the pleasure. For having apparelled him (as you may see) in this English habit, I do now send him vnto you, trusting you will affoord him as friendly a welcome as you did to my French Epirot. It may be he will prove worthie of your liking and good acceptance. For if I be not deceived, in conversing with him you shall find both delight and profit: delight by the varietie of sundry matters, and variable Histories, which he will discover and recount vnto you: profit in regard of his sound Arguments, and profound knowledge in al kinds of learning and philosophy, accompanied with great reading and experience in the antiquities

of the ancients, both Iewes, Arabians, Greeks, and other nations: besides many things in him of wort by obseruance. Amongst all which parts, if in some points you find him not so sound a Divine as

Page 8

the excellencie of this worke would have required: You must beare with one defect: and consider, that being a Crvilian by profession, his breeding, bringing vp, and practise, was in the Court and constitutions of Rome. From whence what can wee expect but Romish Divinitie. Herein therefore your discretion must supply the partialitie and particularitie of his opinion. And for other points in him, I will rather referre him to be commended by your owne censure and iudgement, then seeke by any insinuation of mine, to worke him into your good affections. Wherefore recommending this Orphan stranger to that courtesie which gentle spirits do vsually yeeld vnto strangers, I leave him to his Fortune; and to you wish all contentment. So fare you well.

Author Index

Page 9

A Catalogue of the Authours alledged in the Treatise of Specters.
A Abdias Babilonian. Abacuc prophet. Abraham the Iew. Achilles Statius. Accurfius. Acts of the Apostles. Æschines. Ælianus. Agellius. Agathias Scholasticus. Agrippa. Aimonus Monachus. Alexander Aphrodiseus. Alexan. Doctor of the civil law. Albertus Magnus. Albert Crantz. Albericus. Alexander Trallianus. Alexander ab Alexandro. Algazell. Alciat. Albumazar. Alpherius. Alliac. Alcoran of Mahomet. Alpetragius. Alpharabius. Alphonso Villosa. Saint Ambrosius. Amatus the Portingall. Ammianus Marcellinus Anastasius Nicænus. Anastasius Sinaites. Anacreon. Antonius Liberalis. Ancharanus. Angelus. Annales of France. Annales of Aniou. Apollonius Rhodius. Apollonius Historicus. Apollonarius. Appian of Alexandria. Apomazar. Apuleius. Aristophanes. Aristotle. Aretinus the Civillian. Arnobius. Aristenetes. Artemidorus. Archines, or the Records of the Church of Saint Maurice in Angiers. S. Athanasius. Athenagoras. Atheneus. Averrois. Saint Augustine. Avenzoar. Avicen. Avicebron. Avanpares. Aventinus. Ausonius. Authors of Zoar. Mechitha Midrashim. B Baldus. Bartholus. Baptista Egnatius. Baptista Fulgosius. Baptista Severinus. Balthasar Castilion. Baptista de la porta. Saint Basill. Basiliques. Bartholmeus de side. Barnaby Brisson. Beatus Rhenanus. Beda. Benedictus a Civilian. Bembus.

Belon. Saint Bernard. Boetius. Boccace. Boerius. Bonaventure. Budæus. Book of the nursing of Mahomet C Caball of the Iewes. Cælius Rhodignus. Cadamostus. Calender of the Romanes olde. Cardan. Cassiodorus. Cato Censor. Catullus. Celsus a Phisitian. Celsus a Civilian. Cedrenus. Censorin. Chion the Philosopher. Chaldeans. Chrisippus. Christophorus Porrus. Cicero. Saint Ciprian. Saint Cirill. Claudiau. Saint Clement. Clement of Alexandria. Codes of Iustinian. Codes of Theodofius. Councils of Nice. Elliberum. Ancyra. Constance, Ariminum. Carthage. Lions. Ephesus the second. Copernicus. Constantinus magnus. Constantine Authour of the Geoponiques. Contaren. Customes of Aniou olde. Crinitus. Ctesias. Curtius Doctor of the civil law. D Dant Alhiger. Daniel. David Prophet. Demosthenes Denis. Decrees of Gratian. Dion Cassius. Dion Chrisostome. Dionisius Halicarnasseus. Diopenes Iaertius. Didaccus Covarruvias. E Empedocles. Epigrammes Greeke. Epictetus. Eron. Erasmus. Eunapius. Euripides. Eusebius. Euftathius. Euthimus. Eucherius. Ezechel Prophet. F Felin. Felix Malcol. Fernelius. Ferron a Civilian. Festus Pompeius. Feudes. Fortunatus. Forcatel a Civilian Francis Pic of Miranda. Franciscus Ripa a Civilian. Froissard. Fulgosius Doctor of the Civill Law.

G Gaguin. Galen. Galatin. Gemestius. Genesis. Georgius Venetus. Georgius Agricola. Ghirlandus. Gerson. Glosta olde. Giovan Baptista Alfaqui, Gregorius Nazianzenus. Gregorius Magnus. Gregorius Nicenus. Gregorius Turonensis. Guido Pape. Guicciardine. Gulielmus Parisiensis. Gulielmus Tirus Archiepisc. H Harpoeration. Heliodorus. Hector Boetius. Herodian. Herodotus Heraclides Ponticus. Hesiodus. Hildegardis. Hippocrates. Hippolitus Civilian. Saint Hierome. Hieronimus Mengus. Hieronimus Gagnolus civilian. Historie of the Indies. Homer. Horace. Hostanes. Hostiensis. Hugo Cardinall. I Iacobus a Clusa, Iamblicus. Ieber. Saint Iohn Evangelist. Iohn Chrisostome. Iohn Damascene. Iohn Pic of Miranda. Iohn Leon Affrican. Ieremie Prophet. Isaias Prophet. Iesus Syrach. Saint Ignatius. Imola. Inscriptions auncient. Ioel Prophet. Iob. Iohannes Tzetzes. Iohannes Andrens Civilian. Iohannes Nivizanus Civilian. Iohannes Britto. Iornandes Gothus. Iosephus the Iew. Ioachim Camerarius. Iosephus Sealiger. Saint Ireneus. Isocrates. Isæus. Isaac Syrus. Iulius Capitolinus. Iulius Cæsar Sealiger. Iulius Maternus Firmicus. Iulian the Apostate. Iulius Pollux. Iulius Obsequent. Iustine Martyr. Iuvenall. L Labeo. Laonicus Chalcondilas. Lactantius. Lavater. Laudensis Doctor of the Civill

lawe. Langius. Leon Philosophus Emperour. Leo Papa. Levinus Lemnius. Lexicon Greeke old. Lysias.

Page 12

Lawes of the Lombardes. Phrison. Saxons. Vandales. French. Burgonians. Ripuarians. Salique. Lodovicus Vives. Lodovicus Romanus Doctor of the Civill law. Saint Luke Evangelist. Lucan. Lucian. Lucretius. M Macrobius. Machabees. Saint Marke Evangelist. Marcilius Facinus. Martiall. Martian Civilian. Martirologe auncient. Marianus Doctor of the Civil law. Saint Mathew Evanglist. Mathiolus. Matthias Amichou. Maximus Tirius Philosopher. Melancton. Melchior Flavin. Momnon. Marcurius Trismegistus. Michael Glicas. Moises. Modestin Civilian. N Nangis. Nazarius. Nemesius. Neron. Nicephorus Calixtus. Nicetas. Nigidius Figulus. Nicholas Lyra. Nicholas Damascenus Philosopher. Nider. Nonnus Monachus. O Oldradus. Olaus Magnus. Ordinances of Fraunce. Ordinances of Naples. Oracles. Orpheus. Origen. Ovid. P Pædianus. Pamphilus Phisitian. Pandectes. Panormitanus Civilian. Pandulphus Collenucius. Parthinius. Paris de Puteo. Saint Paule. Paulus Iovius. Paulus Diaconus. Paulus Egineta. Paulus Venetus. Paule Civilian. Pausanias. Petronius Arbitrer. Petrus de Abano. Petrus Comestor. Peucerus. Pherecides. Phavorin. Philostratus. Philip Comines. Phlegon Trallianus. Philo Iudeus. Philo Christianus. Saint Peter. Pindarus. Picatrix. Pithagoras. Plato. Platina.

Page 13

Plautus. Plinius secundus. Plinius Cicilius. Plutarch. Poliaenus. Polemo. Polidor Virgill. Pomponatius. Pomponius Mela. Porphirius. Proclus. Procopius historius. Procopius Theologus. Propertius. Psellus. Ptolomeus. Q Qvintillian. R Rabins. Ahias. David Kimhi. Eleazar. Hacodus, Iehosuas. Jonathan. Ioses. Levi Moses. Rechanati. Selomo Iarry. Simeon. Seadias. Tanhuma. Isaac. Raymundus Lullius. Rasis. Rebuffius. Reuchlin. Roger Bacon. Ruffinus AquileienC. S Sabellicus. Salomon. Sapho. Saxo Grammaticus. Scholiasts Greeke of Homer. Pindarns. Hesiodus. Sophocles. Apollonius Rhodius. Euripides. Aristophanes. Sebastian Phisitian. Servius Maurus. Seneca. Sextus Philosophus. Sleidan. Simplicius. Silius Italicus. Sigebert. Silvester Prieras. Sibilles. Cumana. Erithrea. Erophila. Symmachus. Sinesius. Socrates Ecclesiasticus. Sozomen. Solion. Socin Civillian Spartian. Spranger. Stobeus. Strabo. Suidas. Sulpitius Severus T Tacitus. Talmud. Tarantasia. Tarrutius Firmanus Tatianus. Tertullian. Theophrastus. Themistius. Themison. Theophilact. Theon. Theodorus. Theodoret.

Theodorus Gaza. Thodorus Lector. Thocritus. Thomas Brabantius. Thomas de Vio Caietanus. Thomas Aquinas. Thucidides. Tibullus. Titus Livius. Timæus Tiraquellus. Tobiah. Twelve Tables. V Valerius Maximus. Valerius Antias. Varro. Vincentius Historicus. Vitæ Patrum. Virgill. Vlpian. Vopiscus. X Xenophon. Z Zabarella Doctor of the Civill law. Zonara. Zofimus. Zoroastres.

Chapter 1

A TREATISE OF Specters, strange Sightes, or Apparitions. CAP. I. The Definition of a Specter, or Apparition, and of the Imagination: together with the seuer all kindes thereof. Before we make an entrie into this our matter, whereof wee purpose to entreate, touching strange Sightes, Specters, or Apparitions, it will be requisite, that we define what a Specter is. G1 A Specter, or Apparition, is an Imagination of a substance wiout a 'Bodic, the which presenteth it selfe sensibly vnto men, against the order and course of nature, and maketh them afraid. And not without great reason do I make the Imagination to be the Genus vnto a Specter: because the Imagination (according to the indgeme (02) t of Themistius) is no other thing, but a motion of the soule, which the sense (being set in action) doth create and engender. And forasmuch, as the sight is of all other senses the most excellent, liuely, and actiue: therefore is it, that the Imagination hath sometimes taken the name of a Specter, or strange sight: of a Phantosme, and of a visiõ. And the Fantasie -notes- G1Definition of a Specter. In Latine it is called Spectra a spectando, or seeing.

also, which is formed in the spirit or vnderstanding, hath beene called by the name of light: or rather of the Greeke word [Greek omitted]: which commeth of the eyes, and of the light, without which nothing can bee seene or discerned. So that the seuerall and speciall kindes of the imagination are, the Specter or strange sight, the Phantosme, the vision and the fantasie, which the Greekes seuerally cal [Greek omitted].G1 And first of all Suydas saith, That a Phantosme (which is [Greek omitted]) is an imagination of thinges which are not indeede, and doth proceede of the senses being corrupted: which Plutarch also doth seeme to confirme: Howbeit that some moderne Physitians doe goe further, and doe confound a Specter and a Phantosme together, taking both the one and the other for a false vision. The which

opinion for my part I cannot allow: because in verie truth the Specter is that which our Ciuil Lawyers haue cald [Greek omitted] and the Phantosme, which commeth of [Greek omitted] is taken for a false imagination, by which wee doc perswade our selues (be it in sleeping or waking) that some object doth present it selfe vnto vs. G2 And albeit many Authors, and namely the holy Scriptures, do take a Phātosme for a Specter, truly appearing vnto the sense not corrupted nor deceiued: yet, if we will soundly interpret them, we must say, that they must be vnderstoode to speake according to the vulgar and common opinion, which doth confound the Specter and the Phantosme together: or else that they regarded the propertie of Spirits, the which do vse to take a fantastique or imaginatiue bodie to appeare vnto vs. And to shew yet further, what difference there is betweene the (02) both: Certaine it is, that a Phantosme is a thing without life, and without substance: And the Specter hath a substance hidden and concealed, which seemeth to moue the fantastique body, the which it hath taken. Moreouer, the Phantosme (being as it is) a thing without life, hath not any will: where as the Specter, if it will, doth appeare vnto vs: if it will not, it doth not appeare. And as Saint -notes- G1De placitis philosophorum Definition of a phantosme, what it is. G2L. ostentum Q. de verb. sigsiff.Glossar. [Greek omitted] Mostellum. Math.14. Mark.6. The difference betweene a Phantosme and a Specter.

Page 17

Ambrose saith, Huius natura est non videri, volunt at is videri: The nature thereof is not to be seene: but the will of it is to be seene. G1 After the Phantosme and the Specter, commeth the vision to be considered, of which Saint Augustine maketh three sortes, one which is done by the eyes of the body: as that of the three men, who appeared vnto Abraham: and that of Moyses, who saw the bush to burne: and that also of the Apostles, who saw Moyses and Elias, when Christ was transfigured in the mountaine before them. G2 Another sort of visions, is by Imagination, which is done when our thought is rauished vnto heauen, and wee see nothing by the exterior senses: but we imagine onely by some diuine and heauenly inspiration: as was that of Saint Peter, when he was rauished in an extasie, he saw all sortes of vncleane creatures, and heard a voyce, which bade him eate of that he saw.G3 The third sort may be said Intellectuall: because it is done onely in the vnderstanding, as when Balthasar saw a hand writing vpon the wall.G4 To these three sortes of visions, we may wel adde a fourth and fifth, which happen in dreaming, and do present themselues onely

either in full sleepe, or betweene sleeping and waking, when wee neither sleepe nor wake, which the Hebrewes call Thardema. And first for that in our sleepe, when one dreameth, or seemeth to behold any thing, which shall betide and happen in very deede according as was dreamed. And thus doth Macrobius define a vision, in his Commentarie vpon the dreame of Scipio, where hee discourseth of all dreames in generall: and he produceth these examples. One dreameth (saith he) that his friend (whome hee thinketh to be away in a farre countrie) is returned, and the next day he seeth him, and findeth that his dreame falleth out to be true. Or he dreameth, that his friend hath left certaine money with him: and the next day hee seeth his friend repaire vnto him accordingly, and to commit a summe of money vnto his trust and fidelitie. And as touching that which is betweene sleeping and waking, (which some notes- G1Li, I, Lucam ca. I. de Angel, apparit. G2Of Visions and their generall kindes. Lib contra Adimantum. Gen.18. Exod.3 Math.17. Mar.9. Luk.9. G3Acts.10. G4Daniel.5.

Page 18

call, To bee in a traunce) It is when partly in sleeping, and partly with the bodily eyes waking, one seeth any thing to appeare before him. Such was that vision of the Domesticall or household gods of the Phrigians, which Æneas perceiued betweene sleeping and waking, when hee was in Candye. For after that Virgil had said a little before, That those gods which Æneas had sau'd, and taken out of the middest of the fire, at the burning of Troy, had appeared to him sleeping: hee addeth in the end; Yet sure this was no sleepe, nor dreame: me thought their faces bright, Their hayre wrapt vp in foldes I saw: I knew them well by sight. Acolde sweate trickling down my limmes then did me sore affright. All these sortes of visions haue their name amongst the Hebrewes: The one they call, The Daughter of the voyce: another, The cleere mirrour: another, The rauishment of kissing: and the last (as we said) is called Thardema: of al which we shall speake more amply in the Treatise of Angelles, and especially of that vision of the Face (which Moses only enioyed) and which properly is not to be called a vision, whatsoever the Rabbins do dreame thereof. For, the word of God in the holy scriptures doth plainly expresse, That the vision of face to face, is farre diuers and different from the other visions aboue specified.G1 For when Aaron murmured against Moses, in that he did so manifestly and apparantly enioy this priuledge, to see God face to face: he heard how God said vnto him, That his seruant Moses might see him without any impediment; but that other Prophets should see him onely by vision. The Hebrew Text is Bammarâ Elau

ethuadad: That is to say, I will manifest my selfe to them in vision. G2 It resteth now that we speake of the Fantasie, which is no other thing, but an Imagination and impression of the Soule, of such formes and shapes as are knowne: or of such as shall bee imagined, without any sight had of them: Or -notes- G1Numb.12.ver. 6.y.8. G2Definition of a Fantasie, what it is.

Page 19

which shall bee receiued and vnderstoode of others, to bee such by reasons and arguments. This definition giueth S. Augustine, writing to Nebridius. G1 And first, as touching the imagination of things knowne: It is most plaine and cuident, that whensoever we dreame of them, presently there commeth into our thought the Phantosme and Image of them. As if we dreame of our friend: Immediatly he presenteth himselfe to our mindes and imagination, in the same stature, face, habite, person, and a thousand other such particularities, which are notable in him. So if we dreame of our Countrey: It seemeth vnto vs that we see the very wayes before vs, whereby we trauell: our houses, our lands, and our friends: which Apollonius the Rhodian very well expresseth in these verses; As when it chanceth: (a thing to men oft chauncing) That one in forraine soyle farre off goes wandring: Yet findes no place so farre (though farthest off) But when he listes can see the same: and through The high wayes of his Countrey sometimes erreth, Sometimes his house, his goods, his lands beholdeth: Now here, now there, his curious thoughts oft turning, He leades them through a thousand places running. G2 This sort of Fantasie, Cattius, a famous Epicure of his time, (of whome Horace maketh mention in one of his Satyres) doth call a Specter. But Cicero writing to Cassius iesteth at him, and that not without cause. G3 For there is a very great difference between the one and the other: for that the one is a simple imagination of the spirit or minde, and the other is a sensible vision: The one is [Greek omitted], a thinking, or imagination (as Homer calleth it. The other ([Greek omitted]:) is plainely and manifestly seene, and the same Poet in another place calleth it [Greek omitted]. Now as touching things not knowne nor seene, but imagined in the minde, they are for the most part spirituall, and without corporall substance, or they are conceiued -notes- G1Episte:72 G2In Argonamie. G3The difference betweene a Specter and a Fantasie. A vision or [Greek omitted] is a sensible apprehension: [Greek omitted] is a motion of the heavenly spirits, as sayth S.Ba. [Greek omitted]

Page 20

and vnderstoode by humane reason, and gathered by demonstrations: as, to beleue that there is a God which gouerneth the world, and hath a care and ouersight of mankinde. Now these Fantasies (which may bee named also Intellectuall) are comprised (as the Stoicks say) partly by similitude: as Socrates by his Image: and partly by the proportion or Analogy of one thing to another, and that is either by way of encrease or diminution: by increase as Cyclops and Titius, Giants: by diminution as a Pigmei and a Dwarf: and partly by translation, as (wee say) the eyes of the breast: and by composition, as an Hippocentaure, a Tragelaphe, and others such like monsters composed of two seuerall kindes of creatures: and by the contrary of a thing, as death, by life. And generally those things which are incorporall, and vniuersall, are comprehended by the meanes of such things as are corporall, according to the saying of the Ciuilians. For by the ground (say they) which oweth seruitude, and yeeldeth benefit, a man may comprehend the seruice and benefite belonging thereunto, which are things meerely in corporall. Now of al these kindes of Imagination (which we haue so amply and at large described) It may be gathered, that there are two sortes of Imagination, namely, one Intellectuall, and without corporall substance: The other sensible and corporall. G1 The Intellectuall is the Fantasie, of which is bred and engendred in vs a memory or remembrance (as the Peripatetickes speake) and the discourse of the reasonable soule: I meane that discourse which is proper only vnto man: by the which he ballanceth and weigheth the things present, by those which are past, and foreseeth by things past, those which are to come after. G2 For albeit the vnreasonable creatures doe sometimes seeme to haue a kinde of discourse, or dreaming in them, (as is to be seene in Horses and Dogges) yet this dreaming or discourse in them, is no other, then meerely bestial and brutish: which doth not accomodate nor apply it selfe, but onely to things present, by an vnreasonable appetite and desire vnto -notes- G1Two kindes of Imagination. G2Intellectuall incorporall. sensible and Corporall. Imagination Intellectuall that it is.

Page 21

those things which they loue, and by eschewing and abhorring to their vtmost powers, that which may be fearefull or contrary vnto them. And therefore Epictetus, speaking of those fantasies, which are sodainly carryed by the outward senses into the inward powers of the soule, and doe carry feare and terrour with them (as namely, Thunders, Earthquakes, fearefull sights, and terrours, and other such like things, He said very well, that they

are common to vs with the brute beastes which are guided onely by their brutish senses. G1 But that the resolution (which hee calleth [Greek omitted] is proper and peculiar vnto man: And for as much as it happeneth, that such fantasies are out of the power, will, and election of the soule: It followeth, that they proceed of the senses, which being no longer held vnder the rule and gouernment of the reason, they doe more sauour of the brutall then the reasonable part of the soule. G2 And if peradventure it shall be objected, that often times euen wise men themselues are not exempted from these feares and apprehensions: To this I answere: that it is not possible but the bodie of man should tremble and start at those things, as beeing framed and compounded of Spirits apprehensiue, subtile, and sensible: but it is soone quieted, and (as it were) brought in temper againe by the soule, which doth reasssure, and restore courage vnto it: As when one casteth a stone into the water, he shal see the water for a while to bubble vp, and bee troubled; but soone after it returneth to it former estate. G3 Now touching that Imagination which is sensitiue: either it is false and commeth either of the imaginatiue power corrupted, or of the senses hurt and altred: or else it is true; and then it is that which we call a Specter: which we defined to be a substance without a body, presenting it self sensibly vnto men. I say a substance without a body: because that euery body must of necessitie haue longitude, latitude, and profunditie, which otherwise wee call thickeesse; and ought therefore by consequence to bee -notes- G1Theocritus. G2Terroures bred in the mind by the sense, common to men with with brute beastes. G3Imagination sensitiue two fold, and whence it commeth. The definition of a Specter opened and confirmed in the seucrall parts thereof.

Page 22

palpable and subiect to handling, which in Spirits is not possible, who clothing themselues with an ayrie bodie, and being of themselues substances without bodyes, are not palpable, neither can be touched with the hand. But of this we will entreat hereafter more at large; and of this point especially, whether the diuels haue a body of ayre, as Origen maintained; or whether they bee pure and simple Spirits, and may enter into a dead body and moue the same as if it had sense and feeling! G1 which is a thing that happeneth very seldome, and is against the nature of Spirits and Apparitions. It followeth in our definition, (which presenteth it selfe, and appeareth vnto men sensibly:) I say to men; because Specters doe neuer appeare to any other creatures, but vnto those which are reasonable. G2 And although wee read in the Bible, that the Asse of Balaam saw the Angel:

yet (as Origen writeth) That was contrary to his owne proper nature, not onely that it perceiued, and sawe the Angell, but also that God opened his mouth, and made him to speake. So that both the one and the other of these points, is (in very truth) an impossibilitie to all beastes, and vnreasonable creatures: aswell for that they want the Organ or instrument of mans voyce; as also for that they neither haue reason whereby to discerne Specters and Phantosmes from true bodyes: nor yet vnderstanding, whereby to be illuminated with the bright beames of discerning superiour things: which doe onely enter into the consideration of the soule, and into the discourse and iudgement of humane vnderstanding. The consideration wherof hauing with some preuailed more the (02) was fit; who being not able to conceiue in their thoughts how an Asse should be able to see an Angel, or to speak, they were perswaded (moued thereunto peraduenture with the authoritie of some Rabbins) that the Asse was a Diuell disguised, which Balaam by force of his magicke Charmes had coniured to cary him toward Balaac. But in my opinion, there is neither reason nor any apparance of truth in their saying. But we ought -notes- G1Lib I. [Greek omitted]. G2Numeri. 22. Homil. 13.in Numer. sub finem.

Page 23

rather to take the very litterall sense and meaning of the Scripture, and to thinke that it was a very naturall Asse, and not forged and framed by enchantments. Moreouer, it is added in the definition of a Specter, that it presenteth it selfe against Nature: (That is to say) against that common order of things, which naturally is established in the world since the creation thereof. So that all Apparitions aswell of Angels as of diuels, may be accounted as myracles: and doe neuer shewe themselues but that they presage and fore-shew something. Besides, this word (against Nature) doth put a difference betweene the name of a Specter or Apparition, and those which the Latynes call Prodigium, and Portentum. The former of which, the Hebrewes name Mopheth, and wee not hauing any apt tearme for it may call it a Prodigie: and the latter, (for that we cannot otherwise name it in our language) we may likewise call a Portent. G1 Nowe the Prodigie doth differ from a Specter, in that it commeth naturally, and happeneth often: and yet notwithstanding doth alwayes presage some euill or strange thing to come.G2 And the Portent is, when certaine C lestiall bodyes vnusuall and vnaccustomed (of which notwithstanding a naturall reason may be rendered) doe appeare in the avre: as Comets, or Blazing-starres, Flashings of fire, Lightnings in a cleere and faire weather, and others of this kind; which doe alwayes presage

some euil to ensue after a certaine season. For so doth Festus Pompeius define Portentum, and all the Grammarians after him. Some may say vnto me, That a Mouster is also against nature, and that therefore my difference is of no strength nor certaintie. But the answe is easie: because I sayde before, That a Specter is a substance without a body, which putteth a notable and plaine difference betweene a monster and a Specter. For a monster is a liuing creature: and by consequence a corporall substance, which is borne or brought foorth, hauing strange members: -notes- G1Lauater saith, Portentum is a betokening of strange things to come in time. G2And Prodigium is a betokening of some euil thing to be done afterward.

Chapter 2

Page 24

or is of another kinde then that wherof it is engendered. This therefore shall suffice for the definition of a Specter, or strange Sight, and Apparition. CAP. II. Of the diuers Names, and tearmes which are often vsed in the matter of Specters. It will not bee amisse, if now in the Discourse following, wee deliuer and explaine all those termes and auncient Names, by which both the Hebrewes, Greekes, and Latynes haue vsed to expresse, and name all kindes of Specters, both good and bad: to the which we will also adioyne those of the Arabians, and of other moderne and later Authours, both French and Italian: to the intent that nothing may be wanting, whereby this our Discourse may bee beautified and enriched. G1 The good Angels doe alwayes take their Names, their vertues, and their properties of God: as Michael, Gabriel, Raphael: and by the two principall Languages (to wit) the Hebrew and Greeke, they are named by the Name of Messengers. For, Malach, in the Hebrew, signifieth a Messenger: and commeth of the vnusuall word Luach, which signifieth to declare, or denounce. And [Greek omitted] and [Greek omitted] in the Greeke, doe denotate asmuch. The Arabians doe a little change the Ebrew word, and do call an Angel, Melech: as is often read in the Alcoran of Mahomet. Moreouer, in the same signification of a Messenger, or C lestiall Ambassad our, is taken also the Hebrew word, Chasmal: whereof as I thinke, was deryued the auncient name of Chasmilliss by which both the Thuscans and Latines, in former times, did -notes- G1Of the seuerall names of good Angels.

Page 25

name and designe Mercurie, the Messenger of the Gods. For (as wee shall shewe in another place) the greatest part of the names

of the Paynim Gods, both those which they placed in the Heauens, as also their home-borne or countrey Gods, and their Infernall Gods likewise, were drawne from the Hebrewes. The which if Chrisippus had vnderstood, he would not haue laboured and toyled himselfe so much, to finde out the Etimologie of their Names, as hee did, as Cicero witnesseth of him.G1 Moreouer, the Angels are called Ruhhoth: that is to say, Spirits which Daurid also testifieth, saying: Osè malachau ruhhoth: Who maketh his Angels, his Spirits: placing Ruhhoth in the plurall number; as if hee would haue vs to vnderstand, that Intellectuall and Spiritual things, such as are pure, subtile, and separated from all confused, grosse and ayrie matter were made Angels, by God the Creator.G2 And so doth S. Augustine interpret that place.G3 And forasmuch as the Angels were created by God, strong and puissant, and are ordayned as Iudges of the world, hauing the Regiment and gouernement thereof in diuers charges, degrees, and authorities: For this cause the Hebrewes call them also Abirim, which signifieth strong; and Elohim, Gods or Iudges. And because they haue their vnderstanding sharpe, quicke, and subtile, therefore they call them also Shamm; which ought to be vnderstood both actiuelly and passiuelly. For besides that, of themselues they haue their vnderstanding quicke and subtile, they doe also sharpen and open the vnderstanding, and Intellectuall powers of men whom they visite. Now the euill Angels, and diuels, are also named (like as the good Angels are) Malachim, by the name of messengers: yet so, as they haue an addition of an Epithet, fit and answerable to their wicked and euill nature: which is Raaim.G4 The which (some being deceiued by the affinitie of the Letters) haue turned into Rashim -notes- G1In lib dent. turn Dcorum. G2Roh, in the Arabian tongue is an Angel; and commeth of Ruach, a Spirit. G3Lib. 15. cap. 23. de ciuitate. Des. G4Of the seuerall names of Diuill or euill Angels amongst the Hebrewes, Greeks and Arabians.

Page 26

which signifieth Heades, Chiefes, or Colonels. But I do not know that I did euer read the word Rashim simply for Diuels: And if it bee in any place vsed for the same, it is rather by way of an Allegorie then otherwise: as I am not ignorant that the Hebrewes allegorically doe call the Deuils, Rashe-galijoth; That is, Heades or Chiefe: of Captiuitie: and Chiefes of mishappe, and of enconbrace.G1 Moreouer, the deuils are called also as the angels Ruhhoth, Spirits: and in Greeke, [Greek omitted], that is, Spirits deceiuers, and wicked and euill spirits. They are also tearmed by the Greekes, Damones and Diaboli: Damones, because they bring feare vnto men, and Diaboli, because they are Detractours,

Lyers, and slaunders; which the Hebrewes doe expresle also in their Language, by the Name of Satanim: which in the vulgar Translation, is translated, Diuels, Calumniators, and enemies. And the Arabians, euen to this day, doe retaine this name. For they call the Diuels Sataim: as is to bee seene in diuers places of the Alcoran. Besides, they are called of the Hebrewes, Ehlím, as authors of all Idolatrie, and of the Idoles of the Paynims. And of this name (in my opinion) is deryued the worde [Greek omitted] by which (as writeth Macrobius) The auncient Greekes did vse to call both Apollo and Bacchus: which in very truth, were two Diuels, that had more Images erected in their names then any other of the Heathen Gods: and did longest of all abuse and seduce the Greekes, the inuentours of all Idolatrie. The Latynes also for their partes are not vnfurnished, nor vnprouided of fit Names, proper and significatiue touching Diuels.^{G2} For they vsed by diuers and seuerall Names to call them: Lares, Laruæ, Lemures, Genij, Manes. And that those which they termed Lares, were Diuels: It appeareth, in that Cicero translating Plato his Timeus, calleth that Lares, which the Philosopher named [Greek omitted] or Diuels. -notes- ^{G1}The diuels in the auncient French, were called Gueliers: of the Almaine word Vaguerant, idest, Vagabond which commeth of the Hebrew word Gala. ^{G2}The seuerall names of diuels amongst the Latynes.

Page 27

The Grammarian Festus (agreeing with Cicero) saith also, that they are Infernall gods, or the soules of men. And as touching the regard of the soules: It is no strange matter to finde in S. Augustine, and other auncient Authors, That our forefathers, beeing Gentiles, did thinke, That the soules of men after their dissolution from the bodies, did become Damones or Diuels.^{G1} Now these Lares were domestical or houshold gods: because (as Seruius said) in olde times the dead bodies were vsually enterred and buried in their houses: And therefore those Lares (that is to say) the soules of the dead, were adored and worshipped euery one particularly in that house, where their bodies were enterred. ^{G2} Of the name of Lares, was deriued that of Larua, which were Shadowes or Ghostes tormenting the domesticall and particular inhabitants of priuate houses: And certaine it is, that euen in the time of our fathers, the Polapians, being a certaine Northerne people, before they were reduced to the Christian faith, did bury the bodies of their parents in the hartes of their Chimneies: and for default thereof, they were vexed and tormented with Spirits, that appeared vnto them.^{G3} The Philosopher Plutarch likewise doth affirme, that these Lares haue the ouersight of houses, and that they are most seuer and cruell exactors and punishers of

faultes committed, and searchers or Inquisitors of the life and actions of those persons which are within their jurisdiction or precincts. And he saith, that they are clothed with Dogge-skinnes, because as the Dogge is a beast, that excelleth in sent and smelling: so doe they (as it were) smell out, a farre off, the sins and misdeedes of men: to the intent they may sharply punish and chastice them for the same. But hee might haue added this rather (if hee had beene a Christian) That as Dogges are naturally enuious: So these Lares, or Diuels of this kinde, do beare enuy and malice to mankinde. Notwithstanding Festus (whome we do gladly -notes- G1Of Lares, or Domesticall gods or diuels In lib.6.Aeneidos in the exp̃hcauõ of the ver. Sedsbuſ huncrefer ante suts. G2Of the Spirits called Laruæ. G3In Problem. RI

Page 28

alledge) seemeth to affirme, That these Lares are sometime good: for he names them sometime Prastites, because they were thought to make all things safe, and to keepe and preserue all thinges carefully: and sometimes Hostilios: for that they were supposed to driue away enemies. But howsoever it bee, certaine it is they were no other then verie Diuels; who if they seemed sometimes to ayde and helpe men, and to doe them some good: yet the same was to the intent they might afterwarde worke them the more and greater harme and damage, aswell inwardly in their Soules and consciences, as outwardly in their bodies and goods. Touching those Spirits which they call Lemures: they are reckoned amongst the Laruæ or hurtfull Spirites, and are indeede Diuels, which doe appeare in the night, in the forme of diuers Beastes: but most commonly in the shape and figure of dead men. G1 And Parphirius the Interpreter of Horace, calleth them the Shadowes or wandring soules of men, that dye before their time (which is but an errour of the Pagans): and hee addeth, That the name of Lemures, commeth of Remus, the brother of Romulus (by the chaunging of one letter into another) because the Ghost or shadowe of that Prince, did pursue Romulus his murtherer: who, to the intent hee might pacific it, instituted a feast, which (as the auncient Romane Calender and Ouid do set it downe) was solemnized on the ninth day of the moneth of May: and by the Romans was called Lemuria, which is (as a man should say) The feast of the Hobs Goblins, Warre-Wolues, or Night Spirits: or as the Italians vse to terme them,) Gh Farsarrellt, and c.G2 That is, Spirits that vse to walke only in the night times.G3 G4Those Spirits which the Latines call Genii, are diuels also (as both Apulcius and Tortullian do witnesse) and the like affirmeth the Greeke Comick, who saith, That; -notes-

G1Of the Spinits called Lemures G2Li.5.Eastorum G3Gli Farfarelli Mazzaruoli, or Mazza. pengch. G4Of the Spirites called Genii. De Damonio oratism Apo. logetico.

Page 29

"To euery man on earth, a Demon is ordained, The which his life to rule and gouerne is enioyned." For certaine it is, that these Genit and no other haue charge to keepe and protect euery man that is borne into the world.G1 And they are named Genii, (as Censorin saith) because to them is committed the care of our generation: or because they are borne with vs: or for that they doe receiue and guard vs, after we are engendred. And these Gemi haue not onely the ouersight and charge of euery particular person: but euery kinde of people also haue their proper and peculiar Genius: according as Symmachus, a very famous Author hath written: Saying, That as the soules of men are giuen vnto them, with which they are borne: So are the Genii attributed vnto seuerall peoples and Nations.G2 So likewise euery particular Towne had his Genius, to the which it offered Sacrifices. And there haue beene found many Titles and Incriptions, in the olde ruines of auncient Townes; in the which hath beene written, Genio Ciuitatis: To the Genius of the Citie. So likewise there was not any troope of men at Armes amōgst the Romans, nor the Senate of Rome, but had their particular Genius. But aboue all, the Genius of the Romane Emperour was had in great honour, and it was a common thing to sweare by it; and to inuocate and call vpon it, in testimony of that Obeysance and subiection which they ought vnto the Prince, whome that Genius had in protection.G3 And this superstition did endure and continue euen to the time of Tertullian: (who reproouing the same, did will and enioyne the Christians not to inuocate or call vpon the Genius of their Prince) and from him, cuen to the time of Iustinian, at the least: as is to bee seene by a Lawe of Vlpian; which was neuer chaunged nor refined by Trcbonian, as others were, that had lesse superstition in them.G4 -notes- G1According to the tradition of the Church of Rome. G2Lib. 10, Epist. G3In Apologetico. G4L.sidue patro at. § vl. D. de Iure Iurs

Page 30

This law did defend and prohibit any to sweare falsly by the Genius of the Prince: and enacted, that those which did so offend, should suffer the Bastonado, wherby they might be admonished not to sweare againe, so rashly and vnaduisedly. And wee may not forget, That these Genii were sometimes paynted by the Paynims, in the forme and shape of men, hauing a horne, betokening plentie or aboundance, in their hand: as is

yet to be seene in many olde and auncient stampes or coynes: and sometimes in the forme of Serpents: which may well serue to vnderstand that verse of Perseus, where he writeth; *Pinge duos angues, puerisacerest locus: extra meite.* G1 And this did not Seruius forget, speaking of that Serpent which Æneas (in his Anniuersaries, or yearely sacrifices, celebrated to the name of his father Anchises) did see to creepe vpon his Tombe: Touching the which (as Virgill saith) Æneas was vncertaine, whether it were the Genius of his father, or of the place. G2 And this may also helpe to the interpretation of another place in Theocritus, in his Booke of Characters (which I haue also corrected from the vulgar and commō reading) where he saith: That a superstitious person, seeing by chaunce a Serpent in his house, did consecrate vnto it a little chappell in the same place. G3 But my meaning is not here to speake of Serpents, which (as Plutarch saith) were cōsecrated vnto Noble and Heroicall persons, and which after their deathes, did appeare neere to their corpses: for this is not any part of our matter; albeit a man may very wel fit, vnto the Genii that same which he hath deliuered, touching this point. G4 To proceed therefore with our purposed Discourse, let vs now enter to entreate of those Spirits which the Latines call Manes: which also are no other then verie Diuels: and are therefore of Festus called also by the -notes- G1 *Satir. I* G2 *In lib.5. Eneis dos in expiracione Gersus, Cum lubricus anguis ab imis septem ingens gyros.* G3 *In Gita Cleomedis.* G4 Of the spirits called Manes. Glossar. manes [Greek omitted].

Page 31

former name of Laruæ. Also the manner was to paint them blacke and hideous, as wee vse to paint Diuels and hellish Ghostes or shadowes. G1 And to this purpose there is a very pleasant and merrie History, in Dion, in the life of Domitian: the which I thinke will not be vnpleasing, if I discipher it here at large. After the victory had and gotten against the Gethes, the Emperour Domitian caused many shewes and triumphes to bee made, in signe and token of ioy: and amongst others, hee inuited publickly to dine with him, all sorts of persons, both noble, and vnnoble, but especially the Senators and knights of Rome, to whom he made a feast in this fashion. Hee had caused a certaine house, of al sides to be painted black, the paueme (02) t therof was black, so likewise were the hangings, or seelings, the roofe and the wals also black; and within it, hee had prepared a very low roomth, not vnlike a hollow vault or cell, ful of emptie siedges or seats. Into this place he caused the Senators and knights, his ghests, to be brought, without suffering any of their Pages or attendants to enter in with them. And first of all, hee

caused a little square piller to be set neere to euery one of them, vpon the which was written the parties name sitting next it: by which there hanged also a lamp burning before each seat, in such sort, as is vsed in Sepulchers. After this, there comes into this melan cholicke and dark place, a number of yong Pages, with greatioy and merriment, starke naked, and spotted or painted all ouer with a die or colour, as black as Inke: who resembling these Spirits, called Manes, and such like Idols, did leape and skip round about those Senators and Knightes; who at this vnexpected accident, were not a little frightened and afraid. After which, those Pages sate the (02) downe at their feete, against each of them one, and there stayed, whilest certaine other persons (ordayned there of purpose) did execute with great solemnitie, all those ceremonies that were vsually fit and requisit at the Funerals -notes- G1Xiphilin, the Abbreviator of Dion.

Page 32

and exequies of the dead. This done, there came in others, who brought and serued in, in blacke dishes and platters, diuers meats and viands, all coloured blacke; in such sort, that there was not any one in the place, but was in great doubt what would become of him, and thought himselfe vtterly vndone, supposing that he should haue his throate cut, onely to giue pleasure and content to the Emperour. Besides there was kept the gieatest silence that could bee imagined. And Domittan himselfe, being present, did nothing else but (without ceasing) speake and talke vnto them of murthers, death, and Tragedies. In the end the Emperour hauing taken his pleasure of them at the full, he caused their Pages and Lackies, which attended them without the gates, to come in vnto the (02) , and so sent them away home to their own houses, some in coches, others in Horselitters, guided and conducted by strange and vnknown persōs: which gaue them as great cause offeare, as their former entertainment. And they were no sooner arriued euery one to his own house, and had scant taken breath from the feare they had conceiued: but that one of their seruants, came to tell them, that there were at the gates, certaine which came to speake with them, from the Emperour. God knowes how this message made them stirre; what excessiue lamentations they made, and with how exceeding feares they were perplexed in their mindes: there was not any, no not the hardiest of them all, but thought, that hee was sent for, to be put to death. But to make short, In the ende, those which were to speake with them from the Emperour, came to no other purpose, but to bring them either a little piller of Siluer, or some such like vessell or peece of Plate, (which had beene set before then, at the time of their entertainment: after which,

euery one of them had also sent vnto him, for a present from the Emperour, one of those Pages that had counterfeyted those Manes or Spirits at the banquet; they

Page 33

being first washed and cleansed, before they were presented vnto them. This History putteth me in remembrance of a gentle frumpe, giuen by Plancus, vnto Pollio: who (as Plancus was enformed) hauing made a booke against him, and being not purposed to publish it, till after his death, he said very well, and merrily, that with dead men none did contend, but the Laruæ that is Ghostes and shadowes. But to our purpose: it is euident, that the auncients did confound together al those Spirits, which they called Laruæ, Manes, and Damones. And Festus saith, that the Manes were called Damones, or Diuels: by contrarietie of speech, as not beeing good. For Manuus, in the auncient verses of the Gentils, which they sang vnto their Gods in dauncing, did signifie, Good. And those Manes were euer numbred amongst vnlucky spirits: for Virgil calleth them, Numina Leua: Sinister, or vnluckie Powers, such as they vsed to appease by Sacrifices; to the intent they should not annoy nor endamage them. The Paynims also did imagine and beleeeue, that these kinde of Spirites, Manes, did send ill and vnlucky dreames to these that contemned them. G1 Which the Poet Tibullus confirmeth, saying; Netibi neglectimittant insomnia Manes. G2 The like also is affirmed by Virgil, in this verse; Et falsa ad c lum mittunt insomnia Manes. G3 And I am of opinion, that these are the same sort of Spirites, which (as Irenaus writeth) the followers of Simon Magus, called [Greek omitted]: that is, Diuels which sent dreames vnto such men, as had contracted a league of allyance with them: as did the Simontans. Some learned men do confound also the Manes, and Genu together: and they say, that those which were our Genii during our liues, do not leaue vs after our deaths, but dwell and inhabite with vs in our graues and Sepulchers. And therefore those men that did destroy and deface the sepulchers of the dead, or did (as the Ciuilians speake) offer violence vnto those monumentes: -notes- G1Lib.2.Elege. G2Lib.6.Eneid. G3Lib.1.aduersus hareses, cap.20

Page 34

They were punished as troublers of the rest and ease of the Gods Manes: and especially if they did transport or carry away the bones of the dead out of their Sepulchers. And it was alwayes the maner to set vpon their Tombes or Sepulchers, an Inscription to the Gods Manes; which was expressed in these two letters, D.M. that is, Dus Manibus: And there was nothing more

common, throughout all the auncient Marbles, and Monuments, both of Rome and other places: which maketh me in a manner to beleue, that the name of Manes may well be drawne and deriued of the Hebrewe word Manuach which signifieth rest: as if a man would say, The Gods of rest, or The Gods of the dead which are at rest. I knowe well, that the Soothsayers of the Romans, did holde this opinion, That they were called Manes, because that of them they thought to proceed and spring forth all thinges whatsoever in the whole world. And for this cause they made and reckoned them both for supreme or celestiall, and infernall Gods also. And others likewise haue deriued their name of Manando, a Latine word, which signifieth to spring forth, or to issue from: and they say, that those places which are betweene the circle of the Moone and the earth, are full of these spirits, Manes; the which the Poet Lucan seemeth to allude vnto, and to affirme in these verses; That which appeares a voide and empty space, Betweene the Moone and this our earthlie Base, The Manes'Demie Gods do it inhabite: Whose chieftest care was (whilst they liued in it) To leade their liues in honesty and goodnes: Whose holy vertues, shining with beames of brightnes, Did giue them strength themsclues aloft to reare Betweene the fierie Region and the ayre, There to liue euer: their blessed soules arranging, In circles round, and Globes of fire flaming. G1 -notes- G1Lib.9.de Beile. Pharsalico.

Page 35

Wherein we are to obserue, that Lucan held opinion, That the soules of such as liued well in this world, were, after their departure, chaunged into these Manes; that is, into Spirits or Diuels: which confirmeth what we haue before said: namely, That the Painims did beleue, that the soules of me (02) departed were transformed into spirits, of an ayrie Diabolically nature. But of this we shall speake more another time, when we shall handle the question of the soules of men. We wil now proceed to speake of other kindes of Spirits or Diuels, which the Auncients had, and obserued with names more speciall and particular. The most famous and notable Diuel, which first commeth to be considered in particular, is that hellish, and infernall Hagge, which the Auncients called Hecate: and as the Greekes affirmed, did vse to send Dogges vnto men to feare and terrifie them. G1 And Lucan affirmeth: that these Dogges were helde to be excessiue great as Elephants, and exceeding blacke and hayrie. G2 These Dogges may well bee compared to Arthurs Chace, which many do beleue to be in Frãce, saying; That it is a Kenel of blacke Dogges followed by vnknowne Huntsmen, with an exceeding great sound of Hornes, as if it were a very hunting

of some wilde beast. But Nonnius a Greekish Monke, in a Booke not yet Imprinted (wherein he interpreteth the Fables and Hystories, which Gregory Nazianzene hath set downe, in his Prayers against Iulian the Apostata;) saith, that these Monsters of Hecate, (which shee maketh to appeare vnto them, that inuocate and call vpon her by way of Coniuration) are not Dogges, but vnmeasurable great Dragons, with heads so fearefull and hideous that they which see them, doe rest so amased and confounded as they become for the time, like dead men.^{G3} And therefore it is fayned of Vlisses, that in his going downe to hel, to see and question with the soule of Tyresias, after hee had spoken to the soules of -notes- ^{G1}Of particular Diuels, and their names, vsed amongst the auncients. Of Hecate. ^{G2}Arthurs chace in France. ^{G3}Odisse. x.

Page 36

many dead men, hee would not stay (saith Homer) the comming of Hecate, for feare least she should present, vnto him, the head of some hideous Monster. ^{G1} The custome of Hecate was to howle in the night about the streetes and turnings of Citties and Townes, (as Virgil recounteth): which is the cause that some haue thought why the Greekes did call her Brimo. Howbeit, that the Scholiast of Apollonius the Rhodian recyteth, that shee was so called, because that Mercurie beeing willing to rauish her by force, shee growing enraged, made so filthy a noyse, and grunted so horribly against him, that the God for feare left her, and fled from her. The husband of this Infernall Goddesse, was Pluto, or Dis; so called of the name of Riches: as wee know that amongst the Hebrewes likewise, the Diuell for the same reason is called Mammona.^{G2} Hee was called also [Greek omitted], not for that hee is [Greek omitted], that is to say, in Darknes and Inuisible: But because he was the Cause, and Authour of the death, destruction, and desolation of mankinde by his temptation.^{G3} And for this cause, hee is termed [Greek omitted] of the Hebreweword Ed; and is the very Ophioneus or Serpent, the sworne enemie of God; which as Pherecides said, did contend and fight with Saturne: and is the same Ate, which Iupiter chased from Heauen, which at this day doth range vp and down marching and wandring in the Heads of men: That is to say, doth ordinarily and continually tempt them: and cannot be chased nor driuen away, but by Prayers, which are said to be the Daughters of Iupiter. ^{G4} The Ægyptians did by another name call this Prince of diuel, Serapis; which commeth of Saraph, that is, to Burne. And in the same sort may the name of Charon the Ferrie-man of Hell be deriued of the Ebrew: For Charon, is as if one should say, Furie, Wrath, or Rage: But in the Greeke it signifieth not any

thing. Howbeit, it is not to be thought that the Paynims would haue giuen him -notes- G1Lib.4.Aeneid. G2Of Pluto, alias Dis. G3Mammon. G4Serapis the God of the Aegyptians, and the deriuation thereof. Charon, whence deuēd.

Page 37

that name without some reason.G1 And I am perswaded, that they retained this name (as also many others of their Auncient Gods) by tradition from Iaphet and Iauan, and Dodanim, and their children, who did yet speake the Hebrew tongue.G2 Of the selfe same Originall came Cerberus, the tryple-headed Dogge of Hell: which the Greekes did striue to interpret; but in vaine: and which I cannot thinke to come of any other, then of Celeb baarets, (which is to say,) Dogge of the Earth, or Diuel Infernall. For by the name, Dogge, the Diuels were sometimes signified and designed: and namely, in the Magicke of Zoroastres they are called Dogges of the earth, And certaine Cabalists interpreting that which is written in their Caball; How the people of Israel comming out of Ægypt, no Dogge did barke against them: They say, that-by Dogge, is to be vnderstood, the horrible and hideous face of the Diuels: whom Moses did so well bridle by the Diuine Power, that they could not worke any let nor hinderance to the Israelites in passing on dry foote through the red Sea. But let vs passe on to other Deuils: and first of all, let vs entreat of those that vse to shew themselues, in the Masculine forme, and shape of Men: and afterwards we will speake of those Specters, that vsually appeare in the shape of women.G3 There was amongst the Greeks, a Diuel which was named [Greek omitted] that is, the wrastling Diuell: And thereof commeth the name of Lutin, or Luitton: which is very vsuall and common in Fraunce.G4 For Lutin commeth of Luitte, which signifieth to wrastle: and I remember to this purpose, that there was one of those wrastling diuels, of which Strabo speaketh, who wrastled against all Strangers that happened to come into Temesa, a Towne of the Brutians in Italie, and was called the Temescan Diuel, or Wrastler. He was in times past, a man named Polites, one - notes- G1Gods of the Paynims. Their names deriued from the Hebrewē. G2Cerberus, whence deriued. G3Of the names of Diuels appearing in the shape of men. G4Of wrastling spirits or Diuels.

Page 38

of the Companions of Vlisses: And hauing beene slaine of the Brutians by treason, hee inforced himselfe after his death, to torment as well Strangers as those who had beene the authors of his death. G1Besides, there was the Diuell Alastor, the auenger

or punisher of misdeedes: which the Scholiast of Euripides writeth to be so called, because nothing was hidden from him: and (as it is in the Greeke) [Greek omitted]. G2 And it may be that this is the Diuell, called the Destroyer: which the holy Scriptures and Origen doe call Azazol: and which Zoroastres allegorically nameth the Hangman, or Executioner; saying that it is not good to stirre abroad, or to issue forth when the Hangman is walking in the Countrey: that is, when the Diuell the Destroyer, doth execute the vengeance of God.G3 The Onosceles are also men Deuils, hauing legs like vnto Asses (so saith Psellus) and the Satyres likewise, which are Demy Goates; which the holy Scripture calleth Hayrie Diuels, or Sairim, inhabiting desert places, and farre off from the frequence of men.G4 Of these Satyres, Faunus was the chiefe or Prince, to whom the Romanes did attribute all kindes of fearefull sights, or terrours, and those Specters that presented themselues to be seene in diuers formes: and they named him, Iupiter Faunus.G5 And whensoever they heard any horrible or diuellish voyce, they appeased him by Sacrifices: yea, they raised an Aultar vnto him in the Mount Auentine, as witnesseth Dionisius Halicarnasseus. The God Pan was not much vnlike in shape to Faunus. G6 For he was as the other, a Demy Goate, from the nauell downwards: and as it is well knowne to all men generally, he was chief of Sheepheards; of whom Virgil writeth; Of Sheepe and Sheepheards too, God Pan he hath the care. He was called of the Latynes, Inuus, so saith Macrobius -notes- G1Of the spirit or diuell Alastor, or the destroyer. G2In Medea. G3Contra Celsum G4Of spirits or diuels called Onosceli. and of Satyres. G5Faunus prince of the Satyrs. G6Lib.6.Rö. hist. Of Pan the God of Shep heards.

Page 39

in his Saturnals; A name, that in my opinion commeth of Æanas, which signifieth to afflict and torment.G1 And it seemeth that Theocritus did esteeme him the diuell of the Mid-day: saying, That he was very terrible and to be feared when he presented himself that houre. G2 And hee bringeth in the sheepheards conferring, and one of them speaking thus; "No, tis not good nor safe to sing at Noone, Ile feare God Pan, who then to wrath is prone: Redonbted Pan whom cruell fiercenesse haunteth, When that his choler at his nostrils hangeth." And in very truth, it is not without reason to thinke, That Pan is the Diuel of the Mid-day, because that all Deuils, that are in any sort terrestriall and materiall as Pan, doe loue the Sunne (as Psellus affirmeth) and the greatest force which the sunne hath is at Midday. And this may very well serue to interpret that Fable, which recounteth

how Pan loued Eccho: which Macrobius interpreteth to be the Sunne: which, beeing as the harmonie of the world, Pan loueth and followeth perpetually. But seeing wee are now intreating of the Spirite or Diuel of the Mid-day, It is to be vnderstood, that the same is a certaine diabolicall and pestilentiall blast or puffe of winde, the most dangerous that may bee.G3 I say a blast or Spirit that commeth from the Desert (as is written in Iob,) and destroyeth, ouerturneth, and breaketh downe, all that it encountreth or meeteth withall.G4 Likewise Daudid nameth it, Ceteb, Iashud tsahorim: That is to fly, The 'Diuel that spoileth and destroyeth at noone day.G5 For, Iashud signifieth the Diuel, and is deriued of Shad, hauing the same signification. And it is to bee marked, That Daudid there setteth downe three sorts of deuils, very horrible and fearefull; The Arrow that flyeth by day: that is to wit; the secret temptation of the Diuell, -notes- G1Idilio prime. G2Theocritus doth place the choler in the eude of the nostrils. So in the Heb ewe, Ap doth expresse both the one and the other. G3Of the deuil of Mid-day, what it meaneth. G4Iob.1.19. G5Psal..91.5.6.

Page 40

made vnder some faire pretence, which is so dangerous that it sooner striketh and hurteth, then can be perceiued whence the blowe commeth. Secondly, the Plunge, or trouble, that is the Diuel (For the Hebrew hath Deber:) which walketh in the darkenesse, or during a darke and obscure tempest or storme: for the word Ophe, doth import both the one and the other. And certaine it is that in the night, and during any strong and violent tempest, the Diuel hath great power and puissance either to tempt men, or to afflict and torment them both visibly and vnvisibly, as wee shall haue occasion to shew in another place. G1 The third and last is, The Plague that destroyeth at Noone-day; or, the Diuel of the Mid-day; which Origen writeth to bee more violent in his temptations at that houre, then at any other time or houre of the day: and if he doe then appeare, hee is more furious, and abounding in rage and furie. This sort of Diuels the Hebrewes do name Meririm, and Reshaphim; That is, Diuels raging in furie at Noone-tide, Pestilentiall Diuels Burning Diuels: that with their breath or touching onely, do kill and destroy: as appeareth by that Diuell of the mid-day, the which (as Procopius maketh mention) shewed himselfe in his time: the history we shal take occasion to recite in another place.G2 The Greeks gaue it the name of Empuse; which both Suydas, and the Scholiast of Apollonius haue noted; interpreting it, [Greek omitted]. And Aristophanes doth very pretily describe it, where he bringeth in Dionysius and his seruant Xanthias, going downe into hell, to

bring Euripides from thence back again into the world: where, as they were arriued, Xanthias crieth out vnto him, in this maner; "X. Oh I perceiue a beast most horrible and strange. D. What beast? tel me. X.I know not. It doth change Her forme into a thousand shapes: for sometime Its like an One, and straight it is a mountaine: Sometimes it seemes a woman of great beautie. - notes- G1In lab. 106. G2Lib.2.de bello Persico. Of the Diuell or Spirit, called Empusa.

Page 41

D. Oh, where is she? where is she? shew her to me: Ile go and giue her battel presently. X. But O good Gods, what strange sight do I see! Euen in an instant she her shape hath altered, And from a woman, is to a dogge transformed. D. Oh then tis an Empusa. X. A sparkling flame Shines brightly, glistring round about her face: Her eye through piercing, her looke is inhumane, Alege of brasse supports her in her pase." But this shall suffice touching the Diuel of the midday: after which, next commeth to be considered those Spirits, which the Greeks cal [Greek omitted], and are those that the Magicians do vse to shut vp in a viall or boxe, or in some character, or cipher, or in a ring, which they carry about the (02) .G1 And it seemeth that Celius did not vnderstãd this word [Greek omitted], whe (02) he vndertook to interpret Eusebius, whom he did rather make more dark and obscure, then giue any light vnto him: as it was euer his custome so to do with al good Authors. G2 But if we will rightly interpret it, word for word, it may be tearmed a Diuell giuing Counsell, or a Familiar Diuell; giuing his aduice vnto such as haue made a compact and conuention with him. G3 Next to these Spirits, there are others not much differing from them; and are those that entring into bodies doe speake through the bellies of the parties possessed with them. The Greeks called them Pythons, Engastrimythes, or Euriclees, as Plutarch affirmeth. And the Hebrewes named them Obim. There be also a kind of Diuels, or Spirits, in the forme of men, whose delight is in lasciuiousnes, and are as wanton and lecherous as Goats: of whó (as I suppose) amõgst the Greeks Pan was esteemed the chiefe commaunder: howbeit the Latines do tearme him Incubus. G4 I haue read in some Hebrew Doctours, that the Prince of these Diuels is called Haza: wee in Fraunce doe call them Coquemarres, and Folletts: and the auncient Gaules, (as S. Augustine affirmeth) named them Drusios, or Diuels of the Forrests. G5 And their nature is,) as the -notes- G1Of the Spirits called Familiars. G2Lib. lection. antique. G3Of Diuels that speake out of the bodies of persons. De defect. Oracul. G4Of the Spirites called Incubi, in English, the Night-mare. The olde Greeke lexicõ.

turneth [Greek omitted] Incubus, and the Glosse, Incubus
[Greek omitted]. G5Lib.15.de Ciuitate Dei.

Page 42

same Doctour sayth) to desire to rauish and force women and in the night time to go into their beds and to oppresse the (02) , striuing to haue carnall companie with the (02) . G1 The like doe those Spirits which are called Succubi, which are diuels passiue, as the former actiue, and taking the forme of women, doe seeke to enioy their pleasure of men. G2 Of which Succubi, the chief Princesse or Commandresse is called by the Rabbins, Lilith: That is to say, An Apparition of the Night, of the name Laïla, which signifieth Night. G3 For such diuels doe not vse nor exercise their force against men, but in the Night-time. But to conclude this Part of our Discourse touching diuels, shewing themselues in the forme of men, I may not forget that diuel, which the Greekes called Eurynomus, so famously reported of by Pausanias, who writeth; That it eateth and feedeth only on the carcases and bodies of the dead: in so much as it leaueth not any part of the (02) but the bare bones: that it hath teeth of an exceeding great length, and sticking farre without his mouth: that the flesh thereof, was of a leaden, pale and wan colour, such as our Muscles are when they are separated from the other flesh: and that it sheweth it selfe continually clothed in a Foxe-skin. G4 Which description of it, maketh me to thinke, that the Auncients did signifie and denotate by this Diuell no other thing but death: which, after the decease of men, doth consume their bodyes, leauing nothing but their bones, which cannot waxe rotten in the earth, and hath long teeth because it deuoureth all: and is clad in a Foxe-skin; that is to say, taketh men at vnawares and vnprovidid, vsing suttletie and cunning as doth the Foxe. Now that we haue sufficie (02) tly entreated of me (02) diuels, we will come to those that haue the forme of women. G5 Of which kinde were those Gorgons, which the Antiquitie fained to be rauenous and gluttonous. G6 Of this number also are Acco, and Alphito, monstrous women; by naming of whõ Nurses did vse to feare their litle children -notes- G1Lib. codem and 4.quast. in Genesim. G2Of the spirits called Succubi. G3The Iewes in their prayers at Euening, doe yet at this day pray God to keepe them from Laleth. In Phocaycis. G4Of the Spirit called by the Greekes Eurynomus. G5Of spirits appearing in the shape of women. G6Of the Gorgon.

Page 43

from crying, and from running forth of dores. G1 In like sort Mormo (of which is deriued the Greeke word [Greek omitted]):

and the first word Marmot) was one of those with which they terrified little children: of which Theocritus maketh mention in one of his bookes; where hee bringeth in a woman, speaking and threatning her Infant with the Marmot. G2 And Nicephorus, in his Ecclesiasticall History, writeth of a woman Specter, which vsed to appeare in the night, and was named Gilo. G3 Likewise those which the Greekes called Erynnes, or Eumenides, were euill Spirits, which, hauing the figure of a woman, were thought to appear vnto those, which had their hands defiled with murther. And to euery one of them was giuen a proper name: for the one was called Alecto: that is Vncessantly tormenting. Another was named Megera: which signifieth Enraged. And the third Tisiphone, which is as much, as to say, The auenger of murther. These Furies, or Spirites (as olde fables tell vs) did appeare vnto Alomeon, and Orestes, after that the one had killed his mother Eriphile: and the latter his mother Clytemnestra: and they did so torment them, that both the one, and the other, became madde and furious. But Orestes to appease them (as saith the Greeke Interpreter of Sophocles) did dedicate a Temple vnto them, and named it the Temple of the Eumenides; that is, of the peaceable and gracious Goddesses. G4 The Poet Euripides doth very liuely, and naturally, represent the feare which Orestes cõceiued, seeing these Infernal Furies to approach neere vnto him. For hee maketh him to pray and entreat his mothet Clytemnestra, not to send, after him, these Furies, which (saith hee) haue their eyes so bloodie, and more horrible then Dragons. G5 The Lamiaë were likewise Spirites and Specters of the female kinde: Howbeit Dion Chrysostome saith, that these are certaine liuing creatures, or wilde beastes, inhabiting the vtmost and desert places of Afrike which, from the face to the nauel downwards, were so excelcellently -notes- G1Morme. G2En [Greek omitted] G3Gilo. Erynnes, or the three Furies of hell. Alecto, Megera, Tisiphone. G4In Aia. Masti goph. G5Of the Spirits called Lamia.

Page 44

well and perfectly formed and proportioned in beautie, throughout all those parts and members of their bodies, as the most exquisite Paynter could not with his Pensill so well expresse them. And their fashion was to lay open and discouer their Alablaster neckes, their brests, and their faire pappes, to the eies and sight of men; that so they might allure and draw them neere vnto them, and the (02) would they forthwith eate and deuoure them. And to this purpose the Prophet Ieremie saith; The Lamiaë haue discouered, and drawne forth their breasts, and haue shewed their dugs. G1 The Hebrew word of Lamiaë, in that place of the Prophet, is Thanin: which signifieth a Dragon, and a

Whale: which shewes that these Lamiaë, besides the face of a woman, had some mōstrous (I know not what) thing in them. Also Dion (whome I before alledged) writeth, that in stead of feet, they had the heads of Dragons. But howsoever it be, that some say they are liuing creatures, yet the Hebrew Doctors do interpret them Diuels of the Desert; in expounding that word of Esay Tsiim, that it should signifie Lamiaë. G2 And Philostratus is of the same opiniō, and cōfoundeth the Empusæ, the Lamiaë, and the Laruæ, all which he calleth [Greek omitted]; and saith, that these women after they haue allured vnto them, by their deceitfull entisements, such as are faire and beautifull, they do fat them vp, and being fat, they kill them, that they may sucke their bloud, of the which they are wonderfully desirous; holding it to be most delicious and delicate. And to this purpose he reciteth a most memorable History (or rather a Fable) of one Menippus, a young and beautifull Philosopher. This Menippus had beene beloued of one of these Lamiaë, which did entertaine and dandle him with all manner of delights and pleasant allurements, that it could possibly deuise: to the inte (02) t she might afterwards execute her will vpon him, as she had formerly done to others, whome she had bewitched and enchanted with her loue. G3 It chanced that one day Menippus inuited the -notes- G1Lament.4. G2Efay.13. In vita Apollo. xii. G3A History of one Menippus beloued of a Diuell.

Page 45

Philosopher Apollonius, borne in Thyana, to dine with him. The Tables were very curiously dressed and furnished with all kinde of exquisite and delicious dainties: The Court Cupboord well garnished with great store of Plate, both golde and siluer: The Hall hanged with rich Tapistrie: and nothing was wanting, that could possibly be prepared. But Apollonius hauing discoursed and made knowne vnto Menippus, that the Mistresse of this goodly feast was a Lamia; incontinently all vanished away, both the woman, the Table, the Cupboord, the Plate, and the Tapistrie: yea, and the very lodging it self (which before seemed to be mounted aloft, in a most proud and stately building, and the goodly high hal, the rooffe whereof hanged ful of lāps) became suddenly to be a little poor cottage, or cabbin: wherein nothing remained after the departure of the Lamia, but darknes, horror, and a filthy stinking sauor.G1 I am not ignorant, that Sorcerers are tearmed by Apuleius, Lamiaë. And they of the countrey of Auergne in France, do call them Fascignaires: that is, Witches, or Inchaunters, of inchanting or bewitching men with their looks. And the Italians cal them Fatechiare, or Streghe, of the Latine name Strix: which is a bird, reported to suck the blood of little

childre (02) , lying in the cradle; of which the Lamiæ are also
 very greedy and desirous: the rea on wherof is yeelded both by
 Suydas, and the Philosopher Fauorin, born at Arles in Prouince:
 The which they grou (05) d vpon a certaine olde stale fable,
 which is this; That Iupiter falling in loue with a beautifull Nimph,
 named Lamia, did beget on her a child, which Iuno of a ielosie
 caused to be strangled: whereupon the said Lamia, of pure
 despight, did neuer cease from that time forwards, to work
 mischief to other folks childre (02) . Howsoeuer it be, so is the
 report, that Sorcerers do likewise vse to stragle little infants. And
 because they haunt and frequent the graues and Sepulchers of
 the dead, and vse to bee abroade in the night time, as doe the
 Strigæ; -notes- G1In Asino aureo Glossarium.
 Strigæ.Lastrygones.

Page 46

It is not without reason, that they are called Lamiæ, and Struiæ,
 and birdes that flye and frequent the graues. The which was not
 vnknown vnto Lucian, and Apuleius: who in their
 Metamorphoses, haue fained, that a Witch or Sorcerer, by
 meanes of a certaine Oyntment, did change himselfe into a Bird,
 and so flew vnto one, of whome he was enamoured. But as
 touching that Bird, which of the Latines is named Strix, and of
 the Greekes [Greek omitted]: In French it may be called Frczaie,
 (that is in English) a Scritch-Owle.G1 Howbeit, that Pliny knew
 not what bird it was rightly, and neuerthelesse, he placed it
 amongst the Iniuries of the Auncients.G2 And by certaine Greeke
 Verses, which Festus alledgeth, one may soone see, that it was
 held a Bird full of vnluckinesse and misfortune: the summe of
 which verses, is thus; "Driue hence (O powrefull Gods) this
 hatefull Scritch-Owle That thus by night doth fright vs in our bed.
 Dislodg (O Gods) this most vnluckie Fowle: Send him to sea, on
 shipboord to be lodged." G3Next after the Lamiæ, we may
 reckon, in the number of women Diuels, the Harpies, which the
 Greekes called the Dogges of Pluto, and the executioners of his
 vengeance: of whome Virgill writeth, that they spake vnto
 Æneas, and foreprophecied, what should betide and happen vnto
 him, after his arriuall into Italie.G4 The Sphinx allo was a
 woman, as touching her head, and for the rest of her body like
 vnto a bird, hauing her wings of so variable and changeable
 colours, that (as Plutarch writeth) turning them towards the
 beames of the Sunne, they had the colour of Gold: and casting
 them towards the clouds, they were of an azure, and like vnto
 the skie, or the Raine-bowe. G5 Those that haue read the
 fabulous History of the Thebans, doe knowe what notable
 mischiefe was wrought vnto them, by -notes- G1Of the Scritch-

Owle. G2Lib. 11.cap. 39 Natur. Histor. G3Of the Harpies
G4Lib.3.Eneid. G5Of the Monster, or Diuell Called Spbinx.

Page 47

this mōster (which either was a Diuel, or possessed with a Diuell)
till such time as Oedipus had resolved and expounded his Riddle.
But I will not speake any further hereof: for that the fable is
sufficiently knowne to most men. I will now come to intreat of
the Nymphes of the auncients, which are those whome wee at
this day doe call Fées, and the Italians Fate, in English the
Fayries. G1 And that these Nymphs were of the nature and
number of diuels: It appeareth by this; that in former times they
which were possessed with Diuels, were called, [Greek omitted]:
that is, Rauished and taken by the Nymphes: whose maner was
to runne vp and downe, as furious and mad persons distracted,
and did foretell, to men, things to come. Now there were Three
sortes of Nymphes. G2 One sort was of the Aire: as that Sibylla,
which Plutarch affirmeth to wander round about the Globe, or
Circle of the Moone, and there to chau (05) t what things shuld
afterwards ensue. Others were of the Earth: as the Oreades,
Dryades, Amadryades, Carmenta, Fatua, Marica, Egeria, and
other such like Nymphs. G3 And the last were of the Water: as y
Naiades, the Sirens, the Nercides: which we may deriue of the
Hebrew word Nahar, which signifieth a floud, or a Riuer: for that
there Nereides are no other, then the Riuers, Daughters of
Nereus, or of the Ocean, father of the Sea, and of Tethis, who is
called Tit, that is, the Earth: within the cauernes and pores
whereof (beeing firstengendred of the salt seede of the Ocean)
they doe for a time abide and remaine; till such time, as beeing
sweetened, they doe issue out, by their fountaines and springs,
and (as good and obedient daughters) doe goe to yeelde tribute
to their father and their mother, that engendred them: and with
whome they doe perpetually remaine and continue, beeing still
new bred or engendred, with a newe birth or generation still
continuing. And seeing we are now gotten into this Allegory of -
notes- G1Of Spirits called y Nymphs in English the Fayries.
G2Three sortes of Nymphes: of the Ayre, Earth, Water. De sera
nomi. vindict. G3Of Nabar a Riuer is deriued Nar a riuer in Italy,
and another Nar in Dalmatia, and likewise Nereus is the father of
Riuers.

Page 48

the Nereides: It seemeth good vnto me, to touch also that of the
Nymphes, vnder whome I will purposely confound, or ioyne in
one, both the Muses and the Sirens. G1 For like as wee haue
saide there bee three sortes of Nymphes; Of the Ayre, of the

Water, and of the Earth: so Varro maketh Three sortes of Muses: One that taketh their originall of the mouing and stirring of the Water. G2 Another that is made by the agitation of the Ayre: and engendreth soundes. And the third, which consisteth onely in the Voyce, and is earthly. G3 The like may wee affirme of the Sirens: because Parthenope (which hath a feminine face and countenance) noteth the Voyce; which, being of the Earth, is as the most graue and weightie. And Lygia, beeing full of sweete and pleasant Harmony, designeth the soundes of the Ayre. And Leucosia, tearmed the White Goddesse, designeth the motion of the Water, whereof is engendred the white froath, or foame of the Sea. So that wee see, that by the Allegorie both of the Muses, Nymphes, and Syrens, is nothing signified or comprehended, but the whole Arte of Musicke: which consisteth in three thinges; Harmonie, Rythme or Number, and the Voyce, which the Greekes call [Greek omitted]. G4 The Harmonie is of the Ayre. The Number is of the Sea: which passeth not beyond the boundes that GOD hath set and limitted it: and goeth continually to and fro in his course of ebbing and flowing, according to the encrease and decrease of the Moone, which serueth it in manner (a man may say) as a Minstrell, by which it measurcth his pase. And last of all the Voyce, (which the Auncient French Romants doe call Dictier) is of the Earth: because it is the most weighty and peasant, by reason of the Accent of Verses which go solemnely, and slowly. G5 To Harmonie are properly appertayning the Soundes: To Number or Rythme, Daunces: And to the Voyce, all kindes of Verse and Poetry. -notes- G1 Of the Muses and the Sirens and the Allegoricall meaning of them both. G2 Three sortes of Muses. G3 Three sortes of Sirens. G4 Musicke consisteth in three thinges; Harmony, Rythme or Number, the Voyce. G5 To Harmony are proper all Soundes: To Number Daunces: To the Voyce Poems.

Page 49

Sometimes Harmonie and Number are mingled together: as in the Violins, and in playing with the Flute, Cornet, and such like Instrumentes. And sometimes also all three are mingled in one; both Harmony, Number, and the Voyce: as in Tragedies and Comedies, in the Poems called Dithirambiques : and in the Ayres of Musicke, of the Greekes named [Greek omitted], which are sung vpon the Viols, the Lute, or the Harpe: and then is the Musicke perfect, and accomplished in all poyntes. And all this may in the like sense, in an Allegorie, bee applyed to the nine Muses. G1 For in regarde of Harmonie alone, it is certaine that the Muse Vrania is chiefe and Mistresse thereof: whome the Poets doe affirme to haue first taught the motion of the

Heauens. G2 Of Numbers. Polymnia is Mistresse: as hauing first inuented the Arte of Rhetoricke, and Histrionicke, or Acting by Gestures: both which do consist in Numbers and gestures, well ordered and measured. G3 And the Voyce, or [Greek omitted], is vnder the power of Calliope and Clio: one of the which found out the making of the Verses, called Heroykes: and the other first inuented Histories, and the Arte of Diuination. G4 Ouer Harmony and Rythme conioyned, Euterpe and Terpsichore are the chiefe Presidents: Of the which, the one is reported to be the Inuentresse of the Pipe: and the other of the Harpe. G5 Ouer Harmonie, Numbers and the Voyce ioyntly, Melpomene, Thalia, and Erato, haue the command: to the first of whom is attributed the Tragedie: to the second the Comedie: and to the third, the Lute and Viole, with the which shee mingleth and conioyneth the Voyce. G6 The like may be said of the Syrens, which being Three in number, do also make the Musicke in all poynts perfect, and fully accomplished, both with Harmony, with Number, and with the Voyce: which is manifest by that which Homer alledgeth of the (02) , where he maketh the (02) to -notes- G1 Of the nine Muses, Vrania the mistresse of Harmony alone. G2 Polymnia the mistres of N bers alone. G3 Calliope and Clio, mistresses of the Voyce alone. G4 Euterpe and Terpsichore mistresses of Harmony, and Numbers con ioyned. G5 Melpomene, Thalia, and Erato, mistresses of Harmony, Numbers and the Voyce conioyned. G6 Odiss. .

Page 50

mingle in their Enchaunting songs (consisting of numbers) both the voyce and verses together: to the intent, that by this musicall perfection, they might the more easily allure Vlisses and his companions vnto them. And this is the reason, why they are called Inchauntresses, of the excellency of their singing. G1 Of which name, if wee will haue the translation word for worde, it commeth of the Hebrew word Shir: that is to say, a Song, and not (as Macrobius saith) because they inchant the gods: but of this Etimologie, we will hereafter intreate more to the purpose. G2 This neuerthelesse wee may not forget by the way, that, in the Arabian tongue, Sair signifieth a Poet: because it is he that furnisheth men with Songes and Sonets, and with Ayres of Musicke. And for this cause a Poet is of the Greekes called also [Greek omitted], or a Singer. But to continue on with that which wee began, touching the discourse of the Nymphes: we shall easily see, that the same may bee saide of them, as hath beene spoken of the Muses, and the Sirens: And that each of them, according to the distinction and diuersitie of the Elements, in which they are abiding, haue a quality and propertie, answerable

and agreeable to the same: the which they neuer change nor alter. The Nymphes of the Ayre, haue the Harmony, (which the Greekes call [Greek omitted]) proper vnto them. G3 And thereof doe I thinke that the Nymph Mellusine took her name: as if one wold say [Greek omitted]. G4 The French (who do tell great wonders of her, and haue full stuffed their Romaunts with such meruels) doe faine her to be a Diuell, that hath her abiding in the Ayre, and fortelleth things to come. But touching that which they talke, how she was Countesse of Melle, and of Lusignan, whereof shee should bee called Mellusine; and that she was married to Raymond, Earle of Poytiers, by whome she had goodly children: seemeth in my opinion, a meere fable, like vnto that wee lately repeated, of Lamia, and that of Egeria, who was saide to be - notes- G1 Syrens called Enchantresses, and why? G2 Lib. 2 in somnium Scipionis cap.3. G3 Of the Nimphs of the Ayre, and that harmonie is propet to them. G4 Of the Nimph Mellusina.

Page 51

conuersant with Numa. And I can no more beleeeue it, then those olde wiues Tales, and idle toyes and fictions of the Fayrie Pedoqua, and of the Fayrie Morgua, and Alcina the Ladie of the lake of Aualon, and other such like Fayries, so famously talked of, by the French, and English. For my part, I shuld rather think, that that which the French haue reported of Mellusine, they learned of the Iewes (who for a long time were abiding in France) and out of their Caball. For the Iewes do say that there is an Helias, which wandreth vp and downe in the Ayre, and foretelleth things to come: And that it is that voyce of the Bird, or Col hatsipor, which Solomon speaketh of: whereof we will speake somewhat hereafter, in the Discourse of Soules. G1 The like do the Greeks affirme of their Empedocles; supposing that he wãdreth, flying vp and downe the Ayre: and of that Sibylla, of whome we spake before: who (as they say) maketh verses, which are yet extant, and are inserted in the workes of Phlegon Trallian: by the which also, (as a Goddesse of the Ayre) shee ruleth and commaundeth ouer all such voyces and ominous speeches as are vttered of men at vnawares or by happe-hazard, and causeth the same to succede and to fall out accordingly: notwithstanding that the parties who speake them, doe thinke neither well, nor ill; neither happily, nor vnfortunately, at the time that they do vtter and pronounce them. G2 The Greeke and Latine Poets haue fayned likewise, that Iris was a Nymph of the Ayre, and the handmaid of Iuno, who had the commaund of the Ayre, calling it her messenger, as the Etimologie thereof (being a Greeke name) doth also denotate. Next after these Nymphes of the Ayre, doe followe those of the water, which haue the

Numbers, and the Cadence or fall of Numbers proper onely vnto them. G3 And true it is, that the Poets did fayne the Naiades, and Nereides to leade a perpetuall daunce vpon the waters: and that in dauncing and leaping, they approach and come -notes- G1 Eccles, 12.4. G2 Iris, or the Rainbowe, fay ned by the Poets to be a Nymph of the Avre. G3 Of the water Nymphes, and that numbers are proper vnto them.

Page 52

neere to Marriners, or Sea passengers, and so to guide and conduct them to their desired Hauen. Now daunces, or leaping and vawting in measures, haue neede of nothing (as saith Aristotle) but onely of Number, measure and true cadence. Finally, the Nymphes of the Land, haue the Voyce, proper vnto them. G1 And for the most part, they are fayned to be Diuiners, Prophets, and Poets: as Egeria, Hersilia, Carmenta, the Camena, and the Goddesse Fatua, the wife of Faunus: of whome I may deriue the name of Phataa: that is to say, Destinye, and where of is come the Latine word Fatum. G2 Now for a conclusion of al this Discourse: certainly if all these Nymphes (of which I haue spoken) haue at any time appeared vnto men: It cannot be imagined, but that they must needes be Spirits and Diuels. G3 And the truth is, that euen at this day, it is thought, that in some of the Northerne Regions, they do yet appeare to diuers persons. And the report is, that they haue a care, and doe diligently attend about little Infantes lying in the cradle: that they doe dresse and vndresse them in their swathling clothes, and do persorme all that which carefull Nurses can do vnto their Nurse children. And surely the Auncients had the same opinion of them: For the Poets say, that Iupiter was kept in his Infancy of the Nymph or Fairie Melissa: and that Bacchus, as soone as hee was borne, was carried away by the Nymphes or Fayries, to bee nourished by them in the Denne or Caue of Nysa: and that by them Hylas, a yong lad, was rauished and carried away. G4 Antmous taken, and Adonis pulled away from the Barke of the Myrrhe tree, which was his mother, transformed and Metamorphosed. To be short, if I should recite all the Fables which are written of them, I should neuer make an ende: Onely this I will adde, that those Fairies or Nymphes, which I said did attend about little Infants to dresse them as Nurses, may well -notes- G1 Of the lands Nymphes, and that the Voyce is proper to them. G2 Fatum, or Fate whence deriued. G3 That the Nymphes are no other then Diuels. G4 Nysa was saide to be nurse of Bacchus, and of her he is called Nyseus.

Page 53

bee those Diuels or auncient Goddesses, which were said to haue the charge of the birth of Children: and for that cause were named [Greek omitted]. But I would gladly knowe and learne, who did put it in the heades of olde solkes, and other simple persons and Idiots, that the Arcades, the Theaters, the olde Fountaines, or Water Conduits, the Bathes, and Great stones pitched vp aloft, were the workes of the Nymphes or Fayries.^{G1} Was it, trow ye, because it hath beene continually held, and commonly thought, that the Spirits, and Nymphes, or Fayries, haue loued ruinous places: and that for this cause the olde ruines of great, proud, and admirable buildings decayed, haue bene said to be the houses and dwelling places, or the workes of the Nymphes? Surely as touching their inhabiting in ruinous places; Esay witnesseth it, where he saith, That the Syrens or Nymphes shall possesse their houses, and there make their retrait and abiding. ^{G2} The dwellings of the Nymphes described in Homer, and Virgil, are sufficiently well knowne: that they were in dennes or caues, farre remoued and concealed from the sight and company of men: builded and wrought by themselues in the naturall rocks and hard stone. And Homer for his part hath so well and perfectly described the Caue of Ithaca, where these Fayries did abide, that Porphyrius hath taken the paines to interpret and explaine, at large, the ingenious order of their building, and Arctitecture. At this day is to be seene the Cause of Sibylla Cumana, neere to Naples: of which also Iustin Martyre doth partly make mention; and sayeth, that the report went, how in that Cell she wrote her Prophecies. Besides the Temples of the Nymphes (called by the Greekes [Greek omitted]; and of the Latines Lymphaea) were alwayes situated without the Citties and Townes, in solitarie places, and farre remoued from any dwellings: as appeareth by the Lympheum of Rome, which was on the other side of Tyber, and stode alone, and aside frõ the Suburbes. And so did the other T ples and caues -notes- ^{G10}Of diuers olde famous works and buildings, supposed to be the works and dwellings of the Nymphes. ^{G2}Esay. 13.

Chapter 3

Page 54

of the Nymphes, whereof Strabo, and other Authors haue written. But seeing wee haue sufficiently discoursed of the names of Angels, Spirits, and Diuels: It is requisite, that we now set downe the reasons, and arguments of those men, that deny their Apparition: to the ende we may, to the vtmost of our power, confute and refell them. CAP. III. Of the Opinions and Arguments of the Saduces, and Epicures: by which they would proue, that the Angels and Diuels do not appeare vnto men.

Many there haue bene at all times, and in all ages, which haue impugned, and stiffely denied the Apparitions of Diuels, Angels, and Spirits: But some haue done it in one sort, and some in another. For there be some, who (to ridde themselues altogether from the question and disputation, that might be made concerning particular and special matters, which are often alledged, in regard of the Apparition of Specters) doe bend themselues against them all in generall: That so by cutting of the roote, and vndermining the foundation of a Principle well grounded, they may the more easily cause the ouerthrow and downefall of all that which dependeth vpon the same.^{G1} They deny therefore, that there are any Angels, or Diuels at all; or any Spirites seuered and abstracted from a corporall substance or bodie: to the ende that by consequence they may inferre and conclude, that there are not likewise any Specters, nor Apparitions of Spirites. Such were the Saduces, as we may read in the -notes- ^{G1}Of the seuerall opinions of sundry sorts of persons, that de nved the being of spirits, and c. and their Apparitions.

Page 55

Actes of the Apostles: and the Epicures, and the greatest part of the Peripatetickes, and all sortes of Atheistes whatsoever. ^{G1} Of which last, there are at this day more huge numbers abounding within this our Realme of France, then would be tollerated. These men would not sticke to affirme (if they durst, and were it not for feare of the Magistrate) that it is free for men to abandon themselues to all kinde of iniquitie, impiety, and dissolute liuing: for so doe they murmure, and mumble, when they are alone and by the mselues; that there is not either God, or any Spirits at all, good, or euill: nor yet any hel, where the souls of men shuld suffer any paines or punishment; but that they dye together with the body: And that all whatsoever is saide or alledged, touching hel torments, is nothing but a vaine and superstitious toy, and fable; onely to make babes and children afraid: and to wrappe and tye the greatest persons of the world in certaine bonds of a religious superstition: for so are the wordes of Lucrece, in this behalfe. And I doe beleeeue, that they do often say in their harts, that which Puhagoras, the Samian, is alledged in Ouid to haue saide to the inhabitants, of Crotona in Italie; Why stand you thus in feare of Styx, and such vaine dreamings Of Manes, and of Spirits, which are nought else but leasings? Certainly hee that should take vpon him, to instruct these Athiests, should but loose his time: be cause they will admit of no reasons, no not of those that are meerely natural. For, seeing they do not beleeeue him which hath the commaund and rule of nature, how can they

yeeld any credit or beleefe vnto those reasons that are drawne from nature it selfe? G2 Other persons there are, who, beeing more religious and honest men then those former, yet haue no lesse denyed, the essence of Angels, Diuels, and Spirites: - notes- G1 Actes, 23. The first opinion of the Saduces, Epicures, and other Atheists. G2 The second opinion.

Page 56

Howbeit they haue beene of this opinion: that by reason both of the distance betweene them and vs, and of the difficultie of appearing in a humane body: they cannot possibly present themselves vnto vs. Others also there haue beene, who haue referred all that which is spoken of the vision of Spirites, vnto the naturall and perpetuall deprauation of the humane senses. G1 Such were the Sceptikes, and the Aporeticks, who were the followers of the Philosopher Pirrhon: as also the second and third Academie, who held, That the senses, were they neuer so sound, could not imagine any thing, but falsely and vntruly. Againe, some others, with more apparance of reason then the Scepticks, haue affirmed, that abundance of Melancholy, and Choler adust, frensie, feuers, and the debilitie or corruptiõ of the senses (be it naturally, or by accide (02) t) in any body, may make the (02) to imagine many things which are not. G2 And they do infer, that such as happen to be attainted with these maladies, do think that they haue seene Diuels, and other such like Specters. They adde moreouer, that the feare, superstition, and credulitie of many, is such, that they will most commonly suffer themselves to be drawne into a beleefe and perswasion of that, which is quite contrary to truth. To make short: Others there be, wise enough and fine conceited: yet neuerthelesfe (being great mockers, and incredulous, because they themselves did neuer happen to see any vision, nor haue euer heard or touched any supernaturall thing) they haue beene of this opinion; that nothing could appeare vnto men, that exceeded or went beyonde the course of nature. G3 And of this number Lucian was one: who (being also as great an Infidell as any could be) saide: I beleeeue no part of all these Apparitions: "because I onely amongst you all did neuer see any of them. G4 And if I had seene of them, assure your selues, I would beleeeue them, as you doe. Notwithstãding for all this, he opposed himself against -notes- G1 The third opinion of the Sceptickes and other followers of the Philosopher Firshon. G2 The fourth of pinion. G3 The fife opinion of Lucian and others. G4 Lucian an Infidell, Atheist, and Scoffer.

Page 57

al the famous and renowned Philosophers of his time, and held argument against them, though (as himselfe confessed) they were the chiefest and most excellent in all kinde of knowledge and learning. And hee was not ashamed to stand onely vpon his own bare conceit and opinion: impudently maintaining, without any reason at all, against them that were as wise, if not more wise then himselfe, and more in number: that forsooth nothing at all, whatsoeuer was said or alledged touching Specters, ought to be admitted or beleueed. But what reasons I pray you doth he bring, to confirme his saying? Truly none all: but that onely of his owne absolute and vncontrouled authoritie, hee will drawe to his incredulitie, all others, whome hee seeth to bee assured and settled in their opinion: Notwithstanding, that they are certainly resolu'd of the truth, by the exterior senses, with which they haue perceiued and knowne that to be true, which so constantly they doe maintaine and defend. But how can it possibly bee, that a man should thinke, without any shew of reason, by incredulitie and mockery onely, to confute and ouerthrowe that, which hath beene euer of all men, and in all ages, receiued and admitted? Certainly, this is the fashion and guise of mockers, and scorneres, that that which they cannot deny, nor yet haue a wil to confesse, they will finde the meanes to put it off with a jest and laughter: and so thinke secretly to insinuate themselues into the mindes and conceites of their hearers; especially, such as looke not, nor haue a regarde to the truth and substance of a thing, but onely to the outwarde shadowe, and grace of wordes and glorious speeches. Such a scorner needeth not any great knowledge: because it is sufficient for him to bee superficially skilfull in any thing; so that hee can with a kinde of graue and smiling grace, shift off the reasons and arguments of those, whose knowledge, and learning, is so exceeding farre beyonde his, as during

Page 58

his whole life, he will neuer attaine vnto the like.^{G1} Thus did Machiavel carrie himselfe: who amongst the learned, and men of skill and iudgement, knewe well how to make his profit of his scoffes, and pleasant grace in jesting; whereby he would many times strike them out of countenance, in the sight of them that heard him: whereas, if he had come to dispute with them, by liuely reasons, and solid Arguments, hee would at the very first blowe haue beene ouerthrowne and confounded. But in the ende hee discouered himselfe sufficiently, and was reputed of all men, no other then a Scoffer, and an Atheist, as Paulus Iouius testifieth of him. ^{G2} But wee will cease to speake any further of him, of Lucian, and of those of their humor, and will returne to

our matter, touching Specters: the which, that wee may the better explaine (now that wee haue briefly declared the diuersitie of opinions, of those that insist vpon the contrarie) wee will aunswere vnto each of them in order, as they haue beene propounded. And first, as touching the Sadduces, the Epicures, the Peripatetickes, wee will seuerally answer their Arguments which they object against vs: Next, wee will remoue those difficulties, which are objected, and shew how the Angels, and Diuels, may take vpon them a bodie. Afterwardes, wee will shewe and discouer vnto the Sceptickes, that the humane senses are not so faultie and vncertaine, as they would make men beleue. And last of all, (to the intent we may leaue nothing behind) wee will not forget to shew, by what maladies and infirmities the senses may be hurt and troubled: and the Imaginative power of man wounded and chaunged: so as all that which is supposed to be seene, is meerely false and vntrue. G3To come first of all to the Sadduces: It is most certaine, that of all men they were the most grosse and carnall: and did not beleue that any thing was spirituall: but they did imagine all to bee corporall: because -notes- G1Machiauel a Scoffer, and an Atheist. G2In Musas. G3The opinion of the Sadduces.

Page 59

they said, that the Humane vnderstanding doth alwayes worke with the Phantosme, and with the thing Imagined. And it appeareth, that in dreaming of any thing whatsoever, we doe alwayes imagine it to be corporall: whereupon they conclude, that all thinges are corporall: and therefore that euen God also is a corporall Substance, which is the greatest absurdity and blasphemy, that can be imagined in the world. For if we should restraints God into a body, we must also make him subject to a body (so saith Saint Iohn Damascen) which, in a word, is to restraints and shorten the power and omnipotency of God: the which being infinitely aboue al substances, both corporall and incorporall, is not subject to their Category.G1 The reason that moued them to beleue that God was corporall: was a place of Moses (for they did not receiue nor admit of any Scriptures but the fiue Bookes of Moses, as sayth Origen) wherein it is written, That God made Moses to stay in the Caue of a rock or mou (05) tain: and putting his hand vpon him, did shew him his hinder parts, not suffering him to see his face. And therefore, in regard, that Moses attributeth vnto God a face, a hand, and other parts, they conclude, that God hath a body.G2 Of the same opinion also was Tertullian (as witnesseth Saint Augustine, writing to Optatus) and the Bogomilles, being certaine Heretikes of Bulgarie: who thought that God was, as we are (so writeth

Enthymus): and that from his two eyes, out of his braine did issue two beames; the one called the Sunne, and the other, the Holy Spirite: which is a most blasphemous and intollerable error. Now the occasion, why the Sadduces did so egerly defend and maintaine, that God had a bodie; was, because they would deny all incorporall substances: to which effect they thus argued. G3 If God (say they) haue created any substances, he created them to his owne Image and likenesse: and therefore when he made man he saide, That he made him according to his own Image: shewing -notes- G1Exod 33. Homil.22.in Matth. G2De Origine Animarum. Volum. 2. Tit. 23. G3The argument of the Sadduces.

Page 60

therby, that he was of a corporal substãce: because that man, whome he formed to the paterne of his own face, is corporall. And if God haue made nothing, but what is corporall: It followeth, that the Angels and Diuels, which are saide to bee Spirits, are nothing but mcere fables: and that there be not any soules, or spirits separated from a corporall substance: and by consequence, that the soule of man is mortall, as the bodie: and hath no neede to be reunited thereunto by the generall resurrection. But it is easie to answere them; by denying plainly, that God is corporall, or hath any body. G1 For albeit, the holy Scripture doth attribute, vnto God, handes, feet, face, eyes, and other parts of a body: yet this must be vnderstood spiritually; and by those corporall and bodily members, we must imagine the spiritual vertues of God (according as saith S. Gregory): as, by his eyes, we must vnderstand his foresight and his knowledge; to the which all things are open, and from which nothing is hidde (02) and concealed: By his hand, is meant, his Almighty power and puissance: By his face, the plenitude and fulnesse of his glorie. G2 By his hinder parts, his glorie is shadowed, as vnder the vayle of some certaine forme and similitude. And whereas they say, that the vnderstanding doth work with the Imagination: and that wee doe imagine God to bee a corporal Substance: This hath no reason, nor any apparance of truth at all; but is an error, common to them, with the Epicures: to the which wee will aunswere anone. And as touching the Angels: I doe greatly maruell how the Saduces can deny the beeing of them; seeing that Moses in many places doth make mention of them, and of their Apparition. We may therefore very well say of them, that they vse the Bookes of Moses, as men vse their Stirropes, in lengthening, and shortning them, at their pleasures. G3 This is the reason, why Iustine Martyre did not reckon them in the number of the lewes (and that -notes- G1The

argument of the Saduces answered. G2In Moralibus. G3Contra Tryph.

Page 61

worthily) but reputed them as Hereticke not allowing them any place in the Iewish Church, by reason of the fond and absurde opinions which they held, not onely of God, but also of the Angels, Diuels, and soules of men, which they affirmed to bee mortall. But as concerning this latter point, wee shall speake more hereafter. Let vs now cōsider the Argume (02) ts of the Epicures. The first error of the Epicures is, that God hath a bodie: as the Saduces did beleue likewise.G1 And their first Argument was, That nature it selfe (forsooth) did teach and admonish vs, to beleue, that both God and all Celestiall essences were corporall; for two reasons: The former was, because the Gods are not figured in any other, then in a humane forme.G2 And the second, because, whether it be in sleeping, or in waking, when wee dreame or imagine of the Gods, no other forme doth present it selfe vnto our imaginations, but a humane shape: And therefore they conclude, that the Gods are in figure like vnto men.G3 But vnto this argument, Cicero answereth sufficiently; That such humane shape, and forme, is attributed vnto the Gods, by the inuention of men: and that either it proceedeth from the wisdom of the Auncients; who thought thereby they should the more easily draw the spirits and minds of the ignorant, to the knowledge of spirituall, and supernaturall things: and that they should the sooner bring and reduce them into the way to liue well and vertuously: Or else that the same had it beginning and first footing from a blinde superstition: which doth most easily allure men to adore those gods which are portrayed and carued in a forme most pleasing, and agreeable vnto men: Or else that it is but a fiction of Poets and Paynters; who haue alwayes beene audacious to faine and deuise any thing, rather then that which shold be according to truth and verity. And this last point may wel serue to answer that, which y Epicures say: that be it in sleeping, or in waking y gods do not prese (02) t -notes- G1The opinion of the Epicures G2The first argument and reasons of the Epicures. G3Lib. de natura Deorum. Answered to the first argument of the Epicures

Page 62

themselues vnto vs, in any other, then a humane forme: For this is certain, that by the portraiture and pictures which we see of the Gods, in those formes which are common and familiar vnto vs; we doe imagine (though falsly) that which may resemble vnto vs, the same which we haue seene to be painted.

Insomuch, that Iupiter seemeth vnto vs, to haue a face and countenance terrible, with his haire blacke, and hanging backward, as Phidias did graue him. And Minerua had her eyes blewe, or of an azure colour: as Homer describeth her. Mercury was painted like a young man, hauing his eyes alwayes open, as one that was euer waking: with bright yellowe hayre, and a yellowe downe vpon his chinne and cheekes, as if it did but newly begin to frizzle or to curle. Venus had her eyes delicate and wanton, and her lockes of golde yellow. Iuno had grosse and thicke eyes, rising vp towards her head, like vnto the eyes of an Oxe. And so generally were the rest of the Gods painted by the Gentiles, in diuers formes and fashions. Notwithstanding, all this proceeded of nothing else, but from the error of our Imagination, which suffereth it selfe to bee deceiued and seduced, by the painting, which imprinted in it a kind of false notion. I say anotion: because the ignotant common sort of people, is perswaded of the same, and suffereth it to take place in their minde, or vnderstanding: which is as easie also to be deceiued, as is their Imagination. But a man of wisdom and iudgement, (who hath his vnderstanding more cleare and open) is not easily therewithall seduced: but notwithstanding all paintings and fictions, his Intellect or vnderstanding power pierceth through the Imagination (as the Sunne pierceth or shineth through the cloudes): and spreading it selfe, with her light, doth easily beleue in a spiritual manner, that God and the Angels are Spirituall. G1The second Argument of the Epicures, touching the humane bodie of God; was, that God tooke vpon him -notes- G1The second Argument of the Epicures.

Page 63

that forme, which was, or could be imagined, to be the most beautifull in the whole world. And they say, that the humane forme, or shape, is of all others, the most goodly and excellent: And therefore wee ought to thinke, that God is carnall and corporall, as men are. Hereunto needeth no answer to bee made: because the consequence of their argument is not good: viz. G1 That God should retaine vnto himselfe the Figure of a man, because the same is the most excellent of all other creatures in the world. For the Diuinitie of God, neither is, nor can be, in any corporall substance: But it is an Incorporall and spirituall essence, which hath nothing common with that substance which is proper vnto these earthly creatures. The third and last argument of these Philosophers, is a Gradation or heaping vp of Syllogismes: which kinde of argument, the Greekes call a Sorites: and they frame it in this sort; It is held and confessed of all, that God, and all other celestial powers, are

exceedingly happy: But no person can be happy, without vertue: And vertue cannot bee present in any, without reason: and reason can bee in none, but in the figure and shape of man. G2 Therefore it must bee granted, that the Gods, which haue the vse of reason, haue the forme of man also. G3 But the whole frame of this Argument, may soone and easily bee dissolued, by denying, that reason can bee in no other, then in a humane shape: For both God and the Angels, who haue a diuine and spirituall vnderstanding, haue the vse of reason, notwithstanding, that they be not of a corporal substance. And reason in man, commeth not of the humane body: but from the soule of man, which is Spirituall and Diuine, made vnto the likenesse of God, and capable of reason, of prudence, and of wisdom. Now, whereas it might be objected to the Epicures; That in making their Gods to haue a humane bodie, they doe therein make them subiect to death and dissipation. -notes- G1 Answer to the 2. Argument. G2 The 3. Argument of the Epicures. G3 Answer to the 3. Argument.

Page 64

To auoide this absurditie, they doe tumble into a greater; affirming, that their bodie is as a body; and their bloud, as bloud; not hauing any thing, but the lineame (02) ts and proportiõ of a man, and being exempted frõ all crassitude and thicknes: which, in a word, is asmuch as to say, that their Gods were rather Idols of men, the (02) very men; and rather framed by the paterne of men, the (02) as men in truth and substance: which is a thing the most ridiculous that can be imagined. G1 But will some say, To what purpose serueth all this, touching our matter of Specters? I haue saide before, that the Saduces did maintaine God to haue a bodie, to the ende they might the better deny the appearing of Specters; which are substances without a bodie. Also the Epicures made their Gods to haue bodies; that so they might holde them in the heauens idle and doing nothing: and by consequence might deny their Apparition vpon Earth. G2 For as touching Diuels or Spirites, they beleueed there were not any: but did confound them all in the number of their Gods. And that they did but make a jest of Specters, appeareth by the speech of Cassius in Plutarch: and in that that Celsus (halfe an Epicure) writing against the Christians, did denie them flatly and absolutely, (as is to bee seene in Origen, who hath aunswered him) and did reprove the Christians, in that they would allowe of any powers, or Spirites, contrary to the Gods: supposing (according to his owne saying, and opinion) that there were no Diuels. G3 Besides that, hee made a mocke and a jest of Angels, and of the Resurrection of the bodie: and generally of all

those Apparitions, which were made, both in the old and new Testament. G4And now that wee speake of contrary powers, it putteth mee in remembrance of a speech of Plutarch, who reproueth Chrisippus, for that in this vniuersall body of the worlde, so well ordained and framed, he -notes- G1Absurdities in the opinion of the Epicures. G2Of the opinion of the Epicures who thought there were no Diuels nor Spirits. In vita Bruti. G3Lib.2.6. and 8. contra Celsum G4Contra Stoices

Page 65

should graunt so great an inconuenience, (to wit) that there should be a kinde of Diuels afflicting and tormenting men, to the disturbance of the concord and harmonie of the world: Which being well ordained by the Authour and maker thereof, ought not to bee thought to beare or sustaine any thing which should be incommodious to it self, and by lapse, and cōtinuance of time, should worke the confusion and destruction of the same. But it seemeth, that Plutarch reprehensive (02) ded Chrisippus, vpon a desire and humor of contradiction, rather then moued vpon any just cause, or matter of truth. For the diuels do not worke any damage or inconuenience to the world, being bridled and restrained by the hand and power of God. And if they do torment men or tempt them, it is to exercise them, or to manifest the glory and iustice of God, of the which they are sometimes made the executioners. G1 And as in each Common-Wealth, well instituted, there bee executioners ordained, for the punishment of Malefactors, and such as trouble and disturbe the publicke peace, and good of the common-weale: and yet the vniuersall body of the cōmon-weale, is not therby offended, or endamaged: but to the cōtrary rather it receiueth much more profite and commoditie. Euen so God hath placed, and left here below in this world, Diuels and wicked Spirits, to be as tormenters and executioners to wicked men: that so his iustice might shine the more glorious, to the comfort of the godly, and of his elect, that liue in the loue and feare of him. But to come againe vnto the Epicures: It is most certaine, that they were no other, then the followers of nature: and that onely so farre as thinges did fall vnder their outward senses. G2 And if one should alledge vnto them, that any Specters, Images, and Visions, had presented the (02) selues: they would refer the same, for the most part, to the cōcourse and perpetual fluxe of their Atomes: or to some other like reasōs: the which we holde -notes- G1S. Bernard.in Sermons 1 de transla.S. Malach.Diabolus, inquit, malleus caelestis opificis, factus est malleus uniuerso terra. G2Of the Arguments of the Epicures made against Specters, and Apparitions.

it not amisse to discouer and discipher at large, as wee haue drawne them out of Cicero, or of Lucrece. G1 All Images (say they,) which doe externally present themselues vnto our senses, either they are visible, or inuisible: If they be Inuisible, either they are created in the Ayre, or in our owne mindes and conceites. G2 As touching those made in the Ayre: It is not any straunge thing, or abhorring from reason, that in the same should be engendred certaine voyces: like as wee see it is naturall, that colde commeth from the Riuers: ebbing and flowing, from the Sea: and heate, from the Sunne. And it may bee, that some voyce, being spred abroad within the vallies, doth not only rebound back againe, to the place from whence it came; but doth dilate and scatter it selfe here and there, throughout the Ayre, as do the sparks that mount vp from the fire. So that for one voyce there are many engendred: which ru (05) ning through the empty Ayre, do enter within the eares of those, that knew nothing of the naturall voyce: and doe put them into a misconceit, and fond opinion, that they haue heard either some of the Fayries, or Satyres, or Nymphes, playing and sporting amidst the woods. As concerning those, that are bred in the minde; They say, that for the innumerable course of Atomes: all whatsoeuer wee doe dreame, or thinke of, commeth incontinently into the spirit or minde, and sometimes passeth by visions and Images into the bodily eyes. G3 But if the Images be visible: either they are reuerberated and beaten back, from the Chrystall and transparem Ayre, exceeding cleere in her superficies: or they come of the Spoyles and Scales of naturall thinges. G4 Touching the Ayre: That it may of it selfe cast some kinde of Image, hauing power to appeare, they proue it in this sort; Al Aire that is Chrystalline, or transparent, hath a kind of refraction, as appeareth by the mirrour (whereof looking Glasses are made and polished) and by the water, and by a thicke and darkened Ayre. And this do -notes- G1Lib.de natur. Deorum. Lib.4. G2The 1.Argument. G3Their 2.Argument. Atomes signifie motes in the Sunne, or things so small as cannot bee deuided. G4Their 3.Argument.

the Catoptickes themselues teach in their principles: Now (by the comparison and similitude of the mirror, and the water) all Ayre which hath a refraction, doth of it selfe yeeld some certaine forme. G1 And therefore it is not any thing strange, if in an Ayre a man may see certaine formes and Images. And they do bring also this comparison. Euen as the Tapistrie hangings in a

Theater, or a large wide hall, do cast abroad round about, their naturall colour, where they finde an Ayre opposed against them: and the more that the beames of the Sunne do beate or shine vpon them, the more bright and shining luster they carry with them; and seeme to haue cast off and left their colour, in the same place, which is directly in opposition against them: So is it most certaine, that the Ayre may of it selfe cast abroad certaine formes and figures: the which, looke by how much the more they be made cleere, by the light which doth bring and tye them to our object, so much the more comprehensible shall they bee vnto our sight. In briefe, concerning the spoyles and scales cast from naturall things, of which, in their opinion, Images should be engendred: They do make this Argume (02) t; The Caterpillars (say they) do leaue their spoiles in the hedges or bushes, like vnto the (02) selues: so do the Serpe (02) ts among the thornes or stones: and the little creatures, at the time of their birth, do leaue behinde them their after burthen: which is a little thinne and slender skin, which they bring with them, from their dammes belly: Why therfore may there not be left or cast from the bodies of natural things, certaine thinne and subtile forms, or Images, proceeding from them aswel, as a little skin and the afterburthen doth remaine of the superfluitie of little creatures? G2 But all these Arguments may verie easily be dissolued. G3 And first, as touching the voyces, which they say, may simply be created of the Ayre: I will not deny that: For it is most certaine, that the voyce, is a certaine beating -notes- G1 Catoptikes are professors of the Optikes on Arte Speculatiue. G2 Their 4. Argument. G3 Answer to their. 1. argument. The voyce defined what it is

Page 68

and concussion of the Ayre, which falleth vnder the sense of bearing, (as is affirmed by the Grammarians.) G1 And the matter of the voyce (as sayth Galen) is the breath, and respiration of the Lungs: but the forme thereof is the Ayre, without the which, neither can it be vnderstood, nor can it bee called a voyce. Besides I will not deny, but that the sounds are rayzed within the emptie Ayre, bee it either by the windes, or by some other externall cause. But to say, that the voyces, and the sounds are naturall and adherent to the Aire, as the Tide to the Sea; and coldnes to the Riuers; and heat to the Sun: It would the (02) follow, that without any externall cause at all, both the voyce, and the senses should bee created in the Aire, and should perpetually adhere vnto the Ayre, as the Tide doth to the Sea; and cold to the waters; and heat vnto the Sun. But so it is, that the winds are not alwaies in the Ayre: and the sounds and

voyces are externall thinges, comming into the Ayre, by the meanes of some other subiect: the which is nothing to neither in the Sea, nor in the Riuers, nor in the Sunne: because that in the Seas the Tide; and cold in the waters; and heate in the Sun, are vnseparably and continually. And there is great difference betweene Accidents that are Separable, and those that are Inseparable. For the separable Accident as the Voyces and the Soundes in the Ayre, may bee abstracted and drawne from the substance of the Ayre, and yet the Ayre shall neither perish, nor be the sooner altered thereby: But ebbing and flowing cannot bee taken from the Sea, but the nature thereof must needs bee chaunged: Nor can the heate bee separated from the Sunne, but that hee must then loose his light: Neither can the colde bee seuered from the Riuers, but that the qualitie and nature of the water must bee chaunged: which cannot possibly bee, because naturally water is cold. And these three Accidents, are inseparably knit to those three substances, no lesse, then blacknesse is to the Rauens, and whitenesse to the -notes- G1Lib.de voce.

Page 69

Swan. Moreouer, it is a farre greater foolery, to say, that of voyces articulated and knit together, the voices themselues should bee bred and engendred in the aire: For that is not onely against the nature of the Ayre, but against all order established in the world. Neither is it to any purpose, to alledge for an instance, the voice of an Eccho: the which being carried in the Ayre, doth spread it selfe, and scattereth (as a sparke from the fire) here and there, not onely towards the partie that made and dispersed the sound, but to some other places likewise. G1 For the voyce of the Eccho, is engendred of the voyce of the partie, and not of the aire, and is dispersed (as themselues cõfesse) by the speech of the man, from whome it tooke it original and first beginning. Neither will I easily grant vnto the (02) , that the voyce of the Eccho doth disperse it selfe on all sides, without loosing it selfe, or being extinguished. For it is a thing very notorious, and sufficiently proued, that if the Eccho be dispersed into another place, then that frõ whence it first receiued her voyce, shee is no more discerned or vnderstoode as the voyce of a man, but onely as a confused and vncertain sound; which rãging throgh the vallies, cãnot be discerned, but only for a resou (05) ding noise, and not otherwise. G2 Now as cõcerning those Images, or similitudes, which the Epicures alledge to be created in the thought, or conceit: saying, that the mind of man doth referre vnto the eyes, whatsoeuer it dreameth, or thinketh on: and that by means of the abou (05) dance or

cōcourse of the Atomes; I do make them the same answer, which Cicero yeelded the (02) : That if the mind and the eies do so sym bolize and agree together in operations, that whatsoever the mind shall imagine and conceiue, the eye may prese (02) tly see: It must needes then followe, that some thinges shall present themselues to our eyes and sight, which neuer were in beeing, nor euer can bee. For I may dreame, or thinke of a Scylla, a Chimera, a Hippocentaure, and such like cōceited fictiōs, which neuer were, nor can be. -notes- G1The Eccho, whereof it commeth. G2Answered to their 2.argument.

Page 70

And I may faine vnto me selfe, in my minde, strange Monsters, and Antiques; such as Painters doe many times make, which neither are things, nor can possibly be. To be short, If this argument of the Epicures were true; it must needes be, that all things whatsoever the minde presenteth, should be of a certaintie: and they should fall so subiect to our sight, as wee might plainely and sensibly see them: the which is the greatest folly, that can possibly be imagined. Neither can they defend themselues with the continuall concourse of their Atomes, which (they say) doe vncessantly bring certaine Images into the minde, and into the eyes of men. For be it, that we shold cōfesse, that their Atomes do slide into the minde of man: how can they conclude thereof, that they descend into the fight: nay, how can they descend; but that euen by their owne reasons, their ignorance and sottishnesse may be discouered. For, if their Atomes doe enter into the minde, it must needes be then by that meanes, that they bee Inuisible: and that they doe flie vp and downe verie closely, and subtilly (as the verie word doth also import.) Now if they flie inuisibly in the minde: how can they of themselues so readily make any thing visible and apt to bee seene? Certainly, to make their Atomes visible and corporall, there must be of necessitie, before hand, a great concurrence and huge heape of them drawne together; which cannot be suddenly done, but will require a great time. Now in the meane while that these inuisible Atomes shall bee a gathering and getting together into the minde, they will bee flitting and flying away some other where, as soone as the minde (which neuer retayneth one thing very long) hath put them out of remembrance. So that by this meanes they haue not any leasure to forme themselues visible to the eyes of the bodie: but they returne backe againe, euen as they came at first, inuisible. Now let vs proceed, and passe on to those Images,

Page 71

which (say the Epicures) are reuerberated from the Aire, being cleere and transparent in her superficies. G1 I doe agree with them, that the Catoptike, that is to say, the Speculatiue, (being one of the kinds of the Arte Optike) doth holde, that the refractiō, which is made of forms, (be it either in a mirrour, in the Ayre, or in the water) commeth either of the densitie and thicknesse of the mirrour, polished and made bright, the which keepeth sight, that it doth not disperse and scatter it selfe: whereas otherwise, if the mirrour were transparent, or had any pores, whereby one might see through it, the sight would disperse and scatter it selfe abroad: Or else it commeth of the thicknesse of the Ayre next adioyning: or of the humid and moist concretion of the Water, which staieth and limiteth the beames of the eye-sight. And that is the reason, why one may aswell see his visage in the water, as in a mirrour or looking Glasse: and so also in the water of the Sea, which it is not troubled nor tossed with the windes, but resteth calme and quiet: which Virgill testifieth in these Verses: Of late (vpon the shore) I stoode, my selfe beholding In waters of the Sea, no stormy windes then stirring. G2 But what will they inferre of this, which enery man will confesse to be true and infallible? So it is, (say they) that the Ayre being cleere in her Superficies (like as doth the mirrour or looking Glasse): so will it yeeld of it selfe, some forme or figure. Let this also be granted them: And what of that? G3 Forsooth they conclude, that therefore in the Ayre, a man may see figures and Images. G4 But who seeth not, that this conclusion is ridiculous, and Sophisticall: For it doth not answere to the termes of their proposition: but simply carrieth away the Subiect, without speaking of that, which is thereunto attributed, and which is the knot of the -notes- G1Answere to the 3.argument of the Epicures. G2In Bæcolicis. G3The Schoolemen call this a Fallacie. G4A dictosecun, dum quid ad idquod est sim pliciter dictum

Page 72

whole question. But I would knowe of the Epicures, how they can proue vnto vs, that by their Atomes the Ayre may naturally engender formes and Images of themselues, which should be visible: and, which should be mouing and liuing, as the Specters are. I do assure me self, that they haue not any arguments so good, but they may as easily bee dissolued and auoided, as was the former. But they will say, perhaps; that we see often in the Ayre Comets, Fiery Flames, and other Prodigies. True: this I will not deny: but these things (which they say are seene in the Ayre) doe not take their originall neither of their Atomes, nor of the Aire: but are enge (02) dred of the vapours dried vp from

the earth: as it is well known by the writings of good Philosophers. And the Ayre is susceptible and capable of them, by reason of some emptines in it, which doth easily yeeld and giue place, and receiue that which is sent vnto it from below. Besides it is very euident, that such figures and Images as are seene in the Ayre, haue not any life in them, as haue the true Specters: the which also (the Epicures ought to shewe by good reasons) to be carried to and fro, and to moue themselues in the Ayre. For if they had attributed motion and stirring vnto Specters: and had proued, that naturally, without hauing any soule or life, they might notwithstanding be seene wandring, and running hither and thither, in our forme, or in any other: and that they are not onely to bee seene in all partes of the ayre, but in all other places whatsoever: then this might haue stood them in great stead, to haue impugned the Apparition of Specters, supernaturally, or against nature. Moreouer, if they will affirme, that the transparent and thicke Ayre, receiuing our figure by refraction, doth moue it selfe as we doe: and doth liue and change from place to place, as we doe: then must they also proue vnto vs, that the same should be a Specter: and not the Image of the object opposed thereunto, the

Page 73

which vanisheth away as soone as the same doth absent it selfe from it. And seeing we are now in the Discourse of Images, formed in a thicke Ayre: It is to be vnderstood, that their nature is to appeare either by the refraction of our owne naturall and proper forme, or by reflexion.^{G1} As touching their appearance by refraction, wee haue already spoken sufficiently: But as concerning those which are by reflexion; It is most certaine, that their propertie is to appeare by another forme then ours: namely, of some lightsome bodie, which groweth into the thicke and grosse Ayre, in the humid and moist concretion of the same: or into the Glasse of a mirrour, making a reflexion of that thing which is reuerberated and beaten backe againe into our sight.^{G2} Thus by way of reflexion may a man see within a looking Glasse, those men which are walking and marching in the streetes. And sometimes a man shall thinke that men are walking neere the wals of his chamber; which notwithstanding is nothing so: but that onely there is a reflexion of those persons whō we see aloofe, walking and going vp and downe. So likewise by way of reflexion, may a man see in the heauens sometimes a second Sunne, the Image of the true Sunne: and so likewise of the Rainbowe. Howbeit that this latter (as Aristotle would haue it) is not any reflexion, but a relation of the Aspect vnto our eye-sight. But vnder his correction, that is not so: For if the Raine-bowe in

the heauens doe not yeeld a reflexion to our sight, it would not be seene in the water, or in a looking Glasse, as it is, and as dayly experience sheweth vs. And this also may serue for a solution to that Argument of the Epicures, who by comparison of the clothes of Tapistrie, that imprint their colours in the wall opposed, would proue, that the Ayre may also cast any forme or Image of it selfe. For the coloures of the Raine-bowe, and of Tapistry Hangings are for the most part liuely coloures, as Azure or -notes- G1Of the Apparition of Images formed in the Ayre, by way of reflexion. G2Of Images appearing in the Ayre by reflexion, and how it is done.

Page 74

skye colour, red, carnation, and greene: all which doe naturally cast a great luster, which may easily yeeld an impression vpon any solid thing, and may reflect vnto our eyes. And yet neuerthelesse, I see not how this can be a good argument, to shew that the Ayre can engender formes or figures: which may referre themselues to the eyes, as Specters, and not rather, as colours. Last of all, touching that which the Epicures affirme: how, of the bodies of things doe issue and remaine certaine Spoyles: The same hath not any foundation vpon naturall reason, or vpon any apparance of truth. G1 For, is there any likelyhoode, or probabilitie, that if the creatures doe leaue behinde them their after burthens, or other such spoyles, bereaued from them, in the places where they haue bene: That therefore the bodies (be they dead, or be they alieue) doe leaue an Image, or impression of themselues, in their absence, after they are departed from those places? It is most certaine, that the bodies of any creatures, haue not any thing in them, which either in their life time, or after that their substance is perished, can be abstracted or separated from them. For otherwise, of one body there should bee two made: which were a straunge thing, and altogether abhorring from nature. G2 And were not much different, either from the Fables of the Poets, who of a dead bodie, made the abstraction of a shadowe, which they called the Image and I doll thereof, (as is affirmed, both by Sergius, and Lucian, and the Commentator vpon Homer) or else from those fabulous and idle dreames of the Rabbins, and Talmudistes, which had their Nephes, as saith the Author of Zoar. G3 But the truth is, that those creatures which do vse to cast their spoyles from them, do leaue no other then a thinne sle (02) der skinne, which being superfluous, is no more remaining or abiding with the bodie: Howbeit, that it commeth from the bodie: as appeareth both by the afterburthens of all creatures, wherein the young ones beeing -notes- G1Answer to the 4.argument of the

Epicures. G2In lib.4.Eneid. In his Dialogues of the dead, where he bringeth in Diogenes and Hercules speaking. G3Iliad. [Greek omitted].

Page 75

wrapped and enfolded in the bellies of their dams, yet in coming from thence, doe easily and naturally cast them off) as also by the spoyles of the Serpent, or Snake, and by the skinned of the Silke-wormes, and the Caterpillers: the which superfluities, are drawn and cast off particularly from these beastes or creatures, as a marke to the one, to wit, the Silke-wormes, and Caterpillers, that they doe chaunge from their former state, and to the other, namely the Serpents, to shew the poisons and ill hearbes and seedes, which they haue eaten all the Winter, according as Virgil writeth of them.G1 These Arguments being thus finished: let vs now come to that which the Epicures affirme to bee the cause why any should bee touched and attainted with feare: when they see such Images and figures, which they affirme naturally to flit and flie vp and downe. Wee (say they) are affected and altered, according to the thinges which wee see, and which are next vnto vs. As for example; we perceiue (I know not) what salt humor being neere the Sea: and in touching of Wormewood, and of Rue, we finde a kinde of bitterness: and when wee are neere a Smith, we seele our teeth to gnash, and to be set on edge, at the noyse of his File, or Saw, wherewith hee worketh. So likewise, when these Images and figures do present themselues vnto vs, wee cannot possibly abide nor suffer them: but we finde our selues altered and chaunged in our vnderstanding: howbeit some more then Other some. For like as there be certaine seeds within the eyes of Cockes, which shining and shooting into the eyes of the Lions, doe so strike and pierce their eye-liddes, and doe inflict vpon them such paine and grieve, that they are constrained to flye from them, being not able to abide or endure the sight of the Cocke: So are there some men, who haue their senses so apprehensiue and subtile, that they cannot holde from being afraid, when they see suchvaine Images and figures before them. -notes- G1Lib.2.Eneid. The opinion and Argument of Epicures touching the cause, why men (02) do conceiue feare at the sight of stränge formes and figures.

Page 76

G1But hereunto we must giue them this aunswere: that the feare which men haue by the sight of Specters or Spirites, commeth in regarde that the thinges are vnaccustomed and admirable to the bodily senses: and not from any secret seeds, which are cōtrary

to our nature, and much lesse from any naturall passion: such as that, is that wherewith men are touched, that abide neere the Sea, or those that see Rue or Wormewood, or do heare the noyse of a Smithes file or sawe. G2 For if it were of any naturall passion that this feare proceeded: then would not the partie terrified, be so confou (05) ded and astonished euen in the verie powers of the soule, as it is commonly seene that men are, at the sight of Specters or Spirits: but rather he shuld be only moued by a certaine Antipathie or abhomination (as Pomponatius calleth it) and would onely abhor and flye from that which he so feareth. Besides, thinges that are supernaturall, doe much more touch the senses of man, then those things doe, which are naturall. G3 Neither are they to be compared with such things, as hauing a natural cause (howbeit secret) doe happen to be seene daily and ordinarily. Now I say, that the cause of these things (though naturall) is secret: For Alexander Aphrodiseus, speaking of the noyse of the File, and how it setteth the teeth on edge, with other things of like nature, saith, that Nature hath reserued the reason thereof vnto her owne secret knowledge, not being willing to impart the cause thereof vnto men. G4 The like may bee affirmed of the greatest part of those Antipathies, which being concealed from men, yet cannot come of any secret seedes, that are contrary or enemies to nature (as the Epicures dote) but are hidden in the secret Magazin or Storehouse of Nature, which hath not reuealed or laide the same open vnto any person. Who can tell the reasõ why the Conciliatour, otherwise called Peter de Albano, did abhorre milke? Why Horace, and Iaqués de Furly could not abide Garlike? nor Cardan could away with Egges. And -notes- G1Answer to the argument of Epicures, touching the cause of feare at the sight of strãge Specters. G2That the feare bred by the sight of Specters, is because they are supernaturall and vnusuall. G3That Antipathies, and thinges which are naturally abhorring to men: are by a secret cause in nature concealed and vnknowne. G4In Problemat. proanne.

Page 77

why that Gentleman of Gascoigne (of whome Iulius Cæsar Scaliger speaketh) could not abide the sound of a Violl? And of this latter in Cardan you may read the Historie. G1 The Phisitian Scaliger writeth, how hee himselfe knew a Gentlemã, his neighbor, which had in him such an Antipathy at the sound of a Vyoll, that as soone as euer he heard it (were he in any company, euen of the best sort, and that either at table, or elsewhere) hee was constrayned to forsake the place, and to go away to make water. Now it happened, that certainc Gentlemen hauing of a long time perceiued and known this strange nature

and disposition in him, did one day inuite this Gent.to dine with them: and hauing prouided and suborned a certain Minstrel of purpose, they caused him to be kept close till the appointed dinner time, when being set at Table, they had so placed the Gent. in the midst of them, as it was not possible for him to get forth. Now as they were in the midst of their dinner, in came the Fidler, and began to strike vp his Violl neere vnto the Gent.he that neuer heard the sound of that Instrume (02) t, but was presently take (02) with an extreame desire to pisse, grew into an exceeding great paine: for being not able to get from the table, nor daring to lay open his imperfection to the whole company; the poore man shewed by the often change of his countenance, in what pitiful case and paine he was. But in the end hee was constrayned to yeelde to the present mischiefe, and to reueale his imperfection. Hee that should vndertake to search and finde out the cause of this so admirable an Antipathie, I assure me selfe hee should bee as long a time about it, as was Aristotle in seeking out the cause of the Flowing and Ebbing of the Seas, (whereof haue written Gregorie Nazianzen, Iustine Martyr, Euses bius, and others) and yet he could neuer learne the certaine cause thereof. But as touching the reason why the Lion doth -notes- G1Another Gen. of this quality liued of late in Deuon neere Excester, who could not endure the playing on a Bagpipe.

Page 78

flye from the Cocke: It commeth not from any seedes that lye hidden within the eyes of the Cocke, and which from thence, should strike into the eyes, and hurt the sight of the Lion: but it is by a kinde of Antipathie, whereof we haue formerly spoken. G1 By which also the Eliphant doth fly from the Hogge, and the Horse from the Stone Taraxippe: Or else it is for that the Cocke and the Lion, partaking both of them of the nature of the Sun (but the Cock more then the Lion:) It happeneth that the Lion perceiuing it, doth presently flie from him; as the valiant Hector is saide to flie before Achilles, who was more braue and more warlike then he. Or else it is because the Cocke, being a celestiall fowle, and the Lion a terrestriall creature, and of a grosser matter (hauing the Spirits more sensitiue and brutall then the other) doth therefore by nature yeeld and giue place, to that which is more excellent. And this reason seemeth vnto me in some sort allowable: the rather, for that those Diuels which are of a more materiall and terrestriall nature, and bee called Diuels of the Sunne, do flye the voyce of the Cocke, aswell as the Lion (as Psellus teacheth vs). And thus, in my opinion, you see sufficiently how all the Arguments and foolish dreams and fancies

of the Epicures, may be soone answered, and easily dissolved. Wee will now therefore consider what the Peripatetickes, both ancient and moderne, do alledge to impugne all Apparitions against nature. -notes- G1The reason why the Lion flieth from the Cocke.

Chapter 4

Page 79

CAP. IIII. Of the Opinions and Arguments of the Peripatetikes, by which they would impugne the Apparitions of Spirites. G1The first of the Peripatetikes, that I wil haue to deale withall, shall be Alexander Aphrodiseus, who contrary to the opinion of all others, euen of his own Sect that went before him, doth altogether and absolutely deny the essence and being of Spirites: therein contradicting euen Aristotle himselfe, the Prince of that Sect: to whome also hee endeououred to ascribe that errour of his, by interpreting him after his owne fancy, in those places where he writeth of Diuels and Spirites: as amongst others, in that of the Metaphisikes, where he sayth; That the Earth, the Fire, and the Water, are Substances: as also all those bodies that come and are engendred of them: as the Diuels, and all liuing creatures and their parties.G2 This place of Aristotle, is the most cleere and manifest that may be: And yet neuerthelesse Alexander Aphrodiseus expounding it, saith; That either Aristotle did followe the common opinion of the vulgar sort, who falsly and erroneously maintained the beeing of Spirits and Diuels: or did vnderstand here by Diuels, the Diuine bodies, and the Starres. But both the one and the other Interpretation is of no value.G3 For first Aristotle speaking of the first principles, and of the beeing of each kinde of Substance, did intend to verifie and affirme the whole by demonstrations and reasons, euen from nature it selfe. And it is not credible, that hee would strengthen and confirme some of them by true and infallible Axiomes of nature, as The Fire, the Water, the Earth, and other liuing creatures: and that other some of them he should groue (05) d and maintaine -notes- G1The opinion and argume (07) ts of Al. Aphrodiseus, that denyed the esse (02) ce of Spirits. G2Li.4, Metaphi. G3Answer to the argument of A.Aphrodiseus

Page 80

vpon the common opinion: as namely, The being of Diuels and Spirites. Howbeit he was deceiued in saying that they were engendred of the Elementes. But this is no place to reprehend him for that opinion. Againe who tolde Aphrodiseus, that Aristotle by Diuels should vnderstand the Starres, or the diuine bodies? Is

not this to belye the Authour whome hee interpreteth, in making him to say that which he neuer meant? For if Aristotle did vnderstand the Starres, by the word Diuels, then must it needes follow by his speech, that the Starres should be engendred of the Elements: But the Starres in the Firmament aboue, cannot bee engendred of the Elementes beneath: either therefore must Aristotle bee deceiued, or (which is more likely) he meant not the starres (as Aphrodiseus would make vs beleeeue): but by the worde Demones, he vnderstoode simplie and plainely the Diuels. But come wee to Auerrois, who being as notorious an Atheist as any of them: yet was a little more scrupulous in the expounding of Aristotle, then was Aphrodiseus: For though hee beleeeued no more then the former, that there were any Spirits: yet when hee came to explaine that place of Aristotle, hee thought it his best part, to be altogether silent, because he would not bewray his ignorance, by saying nothing that should bee repugnant to the Doctrine of his Author, whome hee interpreted. G1 And yet for all that, how did he interpret (or rather peruert) the word [Greek omitted], which is in the Text of Aristotle? That which all the Auncients took and interpreted for spirits, he turned and termed Idols: whereas it is to be seene in Homer, that [Greek omitted] signifieth Spirits, and a Specter. But the truth is, he was not, ignorant of Aristotle his meaning, which ought to haue made him ashamed, and did indeede secretly reprove him, as one that was a bad obseruer of his owne Religion: for by profession hee was a Mahometist, and the Mahometistes doe confesse and beleeeue that there -notes- G1Of the opinion of Auerrois the Peripatetike, touching Spirits.

Page 81

are both Diuels and Spirites. The same Auerrois, to rid himselfe altogether from all arguments that might be made against him, touching the Apparition of spirits: forasmuch as he knewe well, that fewe doubted of their essence and beeing, and that many testimonies of men worthy of credite, did acknowledge no lesse, he would not directly deny them, knowing full wel that he should fall into a most grosse error in Philosophie, which doth alwayes presume, that after the question [Greek omitted]: That a thing is: It necessarily followeth to bee enquired [Greek omitted]; What it is: and in vaine should any one demaund what a Specter is, if it bee not first presupposed that there are Specters. G1 Hee confessed therefore that Specters doe appeare: but hee denied that they were a Substance: and saide; That a Specter was onely a Phantosme imagined in the minde, and thence carried to the outwarde Senses, by the great contemplation of men that were Melancholike, and giuen to Speculation: whose vnderstanding

hee affirmed to bee sounde and entire: but onely the operation thereof was wounded and offended for a season. But it shall not bee amisse to set downe somewhat at large, that which hee saith touching this matter. G2 When the minde (sayeth hee) which is alwayes attending on the Imagination) doth receiue in imagining any formes of diuels or dead men, either in sound or in qualitie, in odour, or in touching. And that this Imagination is transferred vnto the Sense, correspondent to his proper action: (as the odours doe referre themselues to the particular Instrument of smelling: "and that which is heard, to the Eares; and the Specters, to the Eyes:) then shall any man thinke that he seeth, heareth, or smelleth something, without that any object doth truly present it self to the sight, to the hearing or smelling. And as touching the sense of seeing, although it be so, that the vision be no other thing then a -notes- G1Auerrois did confesse the Apparition of Spirits, but denyed them to be Substances. G2The Argume (02) t of Auerrois, to proue that Specters are not a Substance, but an imagined phantosme.

Page 82

perceiuing of some shape which is made within the liuely chrystall of the eyes; which wee call the Ball or Apple of the eye. Certainly whether it bee so, that some object doth present it selfe to the sight, or not, but is onely imagined yet it appeareth, that the partie doth perfectly and assuredly see something. And so likewise euen in wakening, it happeneth that some see Diuels and dead men: and sometimes they suppose that they heare the voyce of them whõ they once knew: and that they smell certaine sents and perfumes: yea, more then that, that many times they doe feele and touch such things, as appeareth by those which are troubled with the Incubæ and Succubæ, or the Nightmare. How beit these imagined formes are more seldome and rarely seene, then they are either heard, smelt, or touched, because that in all the other senses, saue in the sight only, it is not needefull to obserue any more then one onely difference. And therefore one onely Spirit transferred vnto the sense, together with the thing that is imagined, will very easily represent the same. But to the eyes there are many differences necessarie, as the greatnes, the forme, the colour: and therefore it must bee of necessitie, that many Spirites be transferred thereunto. Besides those Sinewes that appertaine to the eyes, nature hath made them hollow: And they only of all the other senses are so, because they haue need of many spirits in their operations. And it happeneth, that wee are sooner wearied in looking and beholding atte (02) tiuely vpon any thing, then we are in the vsing and exercising of any other of the bodily senses

whatsoever." Thus you see the very wordes and reasons which Auerrois vseth, in confirmation of his opinion: To the which it is easie to answere, by saying, that the great Imagination of men, being bent and set vpon any thing by earnest speculation, may well alter and hurt a little the operation and force of the minde and vnderstanding. G1 But that the same can make or cause a man to -notes- G1Answere to the Argument of Auerrois.

Page 83

see any Specters of a mouing and a liuing nature: and (more then so) to touch, to heare, or to smell any thing of a vaine and phantasmaticall nature, vnlesse the same happen by the operation of the Diuell, and that also very extraordinarily: This shall not Auerrois make me to beleue. For it was neuer yet seene, heard, nor approued, that such a thing could befall in the course of nature, except it were onely to such men, as had their senses so decayed and perished, and their imaginatiue powers so weakened and corrupted, as the vnderstanding did therby rest not onely hindred in his operation, but altogether dulled and darkened. G1 And well saith Aristotle, that it must of necessitie be a great and strange passion, when in waking the sense is so peruered, that it suffereth it selfe to be guided and moued by the same: Nay, let it be, that this melancholie (whereof Auerrois speaketh) be not a passion, but a verie naturall and sound imagination (whereunto they which be of a melancholike humor, and the wise Philosophers are subiect): who (as Aristophanes in one of his Comedies writeth of them) doe scale or clime the heauens, and doe flye aboue the Sunne by their liuely contemplation: yet neuerthesse for all that, they do not any thing the sooner either see, or heare, smell, or touch, any Specters: Howsoever sometimes they may haue their mindes so subiect to the Imagination, that they remaine as men astonished and vn moueable. But it is not necessarie, that all whatsoever one imagineth by the senses, should incontinently fall into them sensibly. And there is a very great difference in the Imagination which is internall, and the Action of the senses which are externall. G2 And yet I will easily agree to that saying of Aristotle: That naturally, euen in the sou (05) dest men, when they sleepe, the senses doe seeme to moue themselues by a locall motion of the humors, "and of the blood that descendeth euen to the Organs, which are sensitiue and apprehensiue: in such sorte, that beeing wakened, they thinke they see those very -notes- G1In Libre. and c Somno and Gigilia. G2De Somno et Gigilia.

Page 84

formes and Images which they dreamed of. And this happeneth often to yong persons, who of a sudden are so frightened, that they thinke they see many vaine Images and figures, that for very feare they hide themselues vnder the couerings of their beddes." But such feares doe not last nor continue long, but as soone as the partie is throughly and wel wakened, they do vanish away from the fantasie, which had before apprehended and receiued them vainely and falsely. G1 And this may serue very well to refute that discourse of Cassius the Epicure, who would needes perswade Brutus his Companion (as Plutarch writeth) that the Specter which he sawe with his bodily eyes, not in sleeping, but in waking) was but a false Imagination. The reasons by which hee went about to perswade Brutus hereunto, were these; Our opinion (quoth hee, O Brutus) is, that we doe not endure passiuely, all things that seeme so, neither doe wee in truth and veritie see them, but onely by a false perswasion of our senses, which are mutable and deceiuable. G2 "Moreouer, our Imagination is sharpe, prompt, and of a liuely disposition to moue our senses, and to make or build any forme vpō a subiect, which in truth shal be none at all. For the Imagination is like vnto waxe, and is very facile and ready to the mind of man, which doth faine vnto it selfe al things, and doth varie and compose in it selfe one and the same thing diuersly: as is euident by the often chaunges of Dreames, which in a very short moment the fantasie doth turne and alter into diuers kindes of formes and shapes. To be in continuall motion, is a thing not abhorring from the nature of the minde of man: now the motion thereof is but a certaine fantasie or a kinde of intelligence. And as touching thy selfe (O Brutus) thou art of a Melancholike nature: which is the cause that thy vnderstanding is alwayes diuerted and lifted vp to contemplation. And as concerning the Diuels or Spirites, it is verle credible that there are -notes- G1The opinion and reasons of Cassius the Epicure, touching Spirits and Specters, that they are but an Imagination proceeding of melancholy, or of the senses deceiued. G2Plu, in vit. Bru

Page 85

none at all, or if there be any, they haue not any humane forme, neither haue they a voyce, nor any such power as may pierce and come neere vnto vs." Thus you see what was the opinion of Cassius, touching Specters, and how in the end of his discourse hee setteth it downe verie doubtfully whether there were any Spirits and Diuels, or not. And yet hee is more Religious then are either the Epicures or the Peripatetikes, who deny them altogether. But as concerning that which hee saith of the Imagination, and of the false perswasion of the senses, hee

declareth sufficiently, that hee would not that a man should beleeeue himself: seeing ee will not beleeeue that which hee seeth certainly with his eyes: howbeit the sight be one of the most certaine senses that a man hath, and which of al the others is least deceiued. And hereby sheweth plainly, that he was of the opinion of the Sceptikes, who affirmed that the senses were false and deceiuable. G1 But leauing Cassius and Auerrois, let vs next come to Galen, who was of another opinion, and different from them: for he did not refer Specters to the falsitie and deceiuablenes of the senses and Imagination, or to melancholy, as did Cassius and Auerrois: but rather to the subtiltie of the sight, the smelling, and the hearing: by the which (hee saide) that men did perswade themselues of many vaine formes and Images. G2 And to this purpose I haue read in Cardan, how in the Cittie of Millan diuers did perswade themselues that on a time they sawe an Angell in the cloudes: whereat the Citizens growing to bee exceedingly abashed: there was a certaine Ciuill Lawyer, who shewed them that it was not a true Specter, or Apparition of an Angell, which they sawe: but that the same proceeded from a certaine Statue or Image of an Angell, which beeing set aloft vpon the toppe of the Steeple of S. Goddard, and giuing an impression into the cloudes, did yeelde a reflexion to the eyes of such -notes- G1The opinion of Galen touching Specters G2Lib. 2. contrad. medic.

Page 86

as had their sight more sharpe and subtile then the rest. The like did I me selfe see at Tholouse, when I was there a Student: For me thought I saw in the Aire, the Image of Saint Frauncis, which was there made of lead, and stode fixed vpon the toppe of the Church of the Franciscanes of Tholouse: whereas in truth it was nothing but a thicke cloud, which made the Image giue a reflexe vnto my sight. And of this a man may yeelde a naturall reason, drawne from the Arte Optike. And it doth happen very often, that if a man do behold neere at hand any Image in a thicke and grosse Ayre, in casting aside his eyes, or turning them awrye of another side, (yet so as he loose not out of his sight notwithstanding the obiect of the Image which he beholdeth:) hee shall see the same to reuerberate and cast backe a representation of it selfe, as if it were in a mirrour or Steele Glasse, and yet not perfectly and exactly, for it will seeme as if it were vanishing away, and departing out of sight: Neuerthelesse this commeth not, nor is caused by reason of the subtiltie of the sight, but of the thicke and grosse Ayre, the which (as wee haue before at large declared) is susceptible of any formes opposed against it, making them to yeelde a reflexion towards vs. G1

But what shall wee say touching the opinion of Pomponatius? G2 who affirmeth, that they which haue their sight verie subtile, quick, and liuely, doe see many times in the Sunne and Moone, the Images and Figures of thinges that are inferiour and belowe? Certainly, wee cannot giue any naturall reason for this: but the same which both hee and Cardan doe alledge touching the blood of a Goate, and of two Steele Glasses opposed together against the brightnesse of the Sunne, or of the Moone, which in my conceit is done onely by Negromancie and Arte Magicke: And yet it doth serue as a prooffe rather to confirme, then to disproue the Apparition of Specters. And to shewe that the same -notes- G1The opinion of Galen disproued. G2Of the opinion of Pomponat.

Page 87

is but a kinde of magicall worke, and done by the cooperation of the Diuell: I hold it not amisse to set downe that which I have read in the Interpreter of Aristophanes, touching a kind of mervaille imagined in the Moone; almost like vnto those which Pomponatius speaketh of, and which as hee saith, are to be seene in the heavens. And this is in that Comedie entituled, Of the Clowdes. Vpon that speech of Stepstades, who being desirous to defraude his Creditours, demaunded counsell of Socrates, and speaketh thus vnto him; I will go get some witch of Thessaly, That can by Magicke spell drawe from on hie, The Silver Moone, and in some place can shut her, As in a shying plaine bosse-bellied mirroer. In which place, the Interpreter discoursing vpon that which is saide their of a great or bosse-bellied mirrour (which the Greekes call Catoptron stroggulon, hee setteth downe this report following. Pithagoras (quoth hee) that most famous and learned Philosopher did write with mans blood vpon a mirrour or Steele-glasse (which was made with great bosse or compasst bellie) certaine wordes which himselfe thought good. And afterwards) setting and opposing the face of the Glasse, and the letters therein written, against the face of the Moone which was then in the full, and hee standing behinde the Glasse, and not looking into it, did see the same letters written in the Moone. Now I leave it to the consideration of Pomponatius, and his sect, whether that this mirrour of Pithagoras, and the letters therein written with mans blood, were not like vnto their Goates blood, and the two mirrours wherof we spake before: both which no doubt came by the Art of the Diuell, and no otherwise. And as touching Pithagoras, he was the greatest Magician that was in his time: and that he had verie great familiaritie, and neere acquaintance with the Diuell, wee

neede no other witnesses then those false miracles and impostures which are

Page 88

recorded of him, and are worthie and befitting such a one as he was. Of that Argument of Pomponatius, touching the subtiltie of the sense piercing even to the celestiall bodies, ariseth another opinion cōmonly held by the Peripatetiques: who do affirme, that all whatsoever is sayd and reported of Specters, and of their apparition, doth altogether proceed from the vertue of the celestiall bodies and influences, or some other things naturall.^{G1} In confirmation whereof, they thus argue. ^{G2} Everie bodie is apt to receyve the Celestiall influence: because there is not any bodie so thicke and massive, which hath not some pores and perspicuities (if I may so speake) by the which it receyveth the celestiall light, and by the same, the vertues also of the Heavens, which being cleare and lightsome doe worke vpon it: now it is most certaine (say they) That the Specters are celestiall vertues, and therefore the bodies of men may receyue them.^{G3} And to prove that the Specters are celestiall influences, they bring the authoritie of Perphirius who (as writeth Saint Augustine) maintained, that by the meanes of certaine hearbs, stones, minerals, creatures, voyces, soundes, figures and Characters, which might bee vsed in observing the conversion of the Heavens, and the motion of the Planets: One might produce in nature many things straunge and marvellous, which might bee referred to the puissaunce of these Startes, vnder the which a man had enterprised and begun his worke. And thereof they conclude, that the Specters which are said to appeare and present themselves to Magitians, doe come and proceede only of the secret causes of the Starres, and of the Revolutions; and the Magicians doe observe, when they will make and produce any thing that is strange and admirable. But all this is soone and easily overthrowne: for that there are seene many forts of operations, both of Angels and Divels, which cannot in any wise proceed of naturall causes, according as faith Thomas Aquinas.^{G4} And as touching -notes- ^{G1}The common opinion of the Peripatetiques touchiug specters. That they proceed from the Celestiall influences. ^{G2}The first argument of the peripatetiques for prooffe of their opinion. ^{G3}Lib. 3. de Ci. Dei. ^{G4}Answer to their first argument.

Page 89

minerals, hearbes, Characters, Rings, and such like drugges and toyes, which are sayde to have so much power and puissaunce to worke myracles: Rabbi Moses Egyptian mocketh and scoffeth at

them that beleieve it: and calleth them deceyvers and lyers that go about to perswade the simple and credulous people to beleieve such fooleries. G1 And it had beene well done of Albertus Magnus if hee had helde his tongue, and beene silent, when he wrote of the confection of those Rings and Characters which hee referred to the starres. But that such kinde of Rings and Characters are meerely superstitious and Diabolicall: And that the Divell doth sometime enter into them, and inclose hmselve within them: I will cite no other prooves vnto you, then Andreas, and Pamphalus, two Phisitions, and the Horoscopes or casters and calculators of Nativities, and such like Starregazers, all which doe gather their herbes at a certaine set houre: observing verie curiously both the course of the starres, and the verie hower wherein the Divell hath chieftest power and commaund over the herbes, which they preserve and keepe. G2 And the same Andreas and Phamphilus did write certain Bookes, which (as Galen writeth) they intituled, [Greek omitted]: That is to say: The charmes and changes of beaibes consecrated to the Divels. And more then that: Pamphilus doth teach and set downe what ceremonies, wordes, and enchantments ought to bee vsed in pulling and gathering of the hearbes and rootes: to the intent (saith he) That the Divell who hath rule and commaund over the herbes that are gathered, "may not doe any hurt or annoyance to them that gather them." You may see therefore, how that such superstitions ought not to be referred to the celestiall vertues or influences, but vnto the power of the Divell, which worketh vppon them supernaturally, to deceive and seduee those that are giuen to be so superstitious. G3 The Peripatetiques de yet insist further vpon the Puissance of the Heavens: And they say; That every natural -notes- G1In Questione An Demones habeant corpora naturaliter sibi vnita. Li.1.Perplexorum cap.72. Alber. Magn. lib. 2. Mineralium trac.3.ca. 1. and 3. G2Lib. 6. Desimplicibus madecin. G3The second argument of the Peripatetiques.

Page 90

Agent working vpō divers obiects, doth continually produce divers Actions: as if waxe, mortar, and wood be put ncerc to the fire, the waxe will melt, the mortar will grow harder, and the wood will either burne, or bend: And yet notwithstanding all these operations have a certaine similitude from the part of the Agent: for if one being a farre off do see the wax to melt, hee may iudge that there is some fire neere: the which vpon occasion, canas well harden the motter, and burne the wood likewise. Wherefore the heaven being a naturall Agent, and having many things neere adioyning vnto it: It must needes be,

that it must worke many effects: Of the which, the one is particularly the certaine signe of the other; albeit many of them doe never take effect, nor can be knowne what they be. And forasmuch as of great events, it must needes be that the causes be strong and forcible, so contrariwise, where the causes are powerful and puissant, the effects also must of necessitie be admirable; because in nature the causes are ever answerable to the effects. It is therefore no mervaille if the heaven do produce Specters, and such like micaculous effects, it having such power over the inferior Bodies. But this argument may bee soone answered in two words: That the influence of the heavens doth worke by the will of God, many things that are strange and admirable; and yet such neverthesse as are naturall: But that the heavens haue the power to worke above nature, and so to produce Specters, that can in no wise be granted nor admitted; because Nature it selfe is contrary therevnto: the which ought first to be regarded and considered as the cause, before wee can admit or allow of her effects. G1 Thus you see how easily all the reasons of the Peripatetiques are refuted and overthrowne, how strong soever they seeme to be made, to proove such power in the heavens. Let vs now therefore see what they alledge to deny the essence and being of Divells. G2 Their first argument is, that the Art Magike, is nothing -notes- G1 Answer to their second Argument. G2 The first Argument of the

Page 91

but meerely vaine and false. But the intention of Magike, is held to be principally of and by the Divells. G1 Therefore the Divells are not at all, but are a vaine and false thing. To this argument I answer: That now it is that Magike is a vaine Science and prohibited; that the effects thereof are full of abuse and scandalous. G2 But that the Art Magicke is nothing, and that the divells can not worke by it, by the meanes of Magicians and Sorcerers, is no consequent. Their second argument is, that if there be divells, then they have a soule and members necessary to execute and performe the functions of the soule, as wee see in living creatures. G3 And to the end that such things should consist and be, the divells must of necessitie have a more solide and firme element then the ayre, to wit, the water or the earth, where it behooveth them to abide and remaine. But this argument is of no force: for I deny that it is necessary the divells should have a body; and admit they doe make a shew of one when they appeare vnto vs: yet that followeth not that they have such a one of their own nature; but they do fit and accommodate themselves to our senses, taking vnto them a body of an ayrie subtile and thin substance. G4 Their third argument is, that if it

bee graunted there bee Diuelles, it is principally in respect of Specters: But the Specters are vaine, or come, for the most parte, of the secret causes of the Heavens, or of Nature: and therefore all that which is said of diuells is meerely false and vntrue. G5 To this argument we neede not make any answer, seeing we have before sufficiently satisfied them on this point. G6 G7 Their fourth Argument is, that it is not probable there should be any diuells in that spacious emiptie circuit of the ayre, or in the earth: because if they be in so great a number as it is affirmed that they are, they might be then as thicke, and in as great a multitude, as the bards of the -notes- G1 peripatetikes, to pro that there are no diuells. G2 Answer to their first Argument. G3 Their second Argument. G4 Answer to their second Argument. G5 Their third Argument. G6 Answer to their third Argument. G7 Their fourth Argument.

Page 92

ayre: and so every place would be full of Specters, spirits, diuells: which would yeelde diuers feares and terrours vnto men. But that is not so: For hardly shall a man see in the space of twenty yeares, that in any Province any Specters do appeare and present themselves: and when they do at any time shew themselves, it may be attributed vnto Nature. Again they adde this reason, that if there be diuells, they should be either friends or enemies vnto men: if enemies, then some should be hurt and offended by them, especially such as make a mocke and least at them and their essence: as namely the Epicures, the Sadduces, and the Peripatetiques: But we never heard that any of all these (for contemning of them) have bin any thing the more vexed or tormented. And in very deede they are of so thinne and subtile a substaunce, as they can not hurt them. And yet this is nothing to the purpose. For what should hinder them but that they may cast and hurle about tiles and bricke, and so hurt men downe from aloft, or from the toppes of mountaines: or that they should not, like a Gad-bee or Horse-fly light vpon the tailes of mens horses, and so to cause them to be cast off, and to tumble to the ground, seeing we do beleeeve that they have the power even to tempt men in their soules? But this Argument is ridiculous, and it is needlesse to make answer there vnto: save that a man may pay the Peripatetiques with the same mony, in telling them: That the diuels are in a region of the ayre, separated frõ this of ours. from whence they cannot issue forth, either to harm vs, or to appeare vnto vs: no more then an infinite number of Sea-monsters, the which do but verie seldome shew them selves vnto vs. G1 And if peradventure they doe sometimes hurt and annoy vs: it is no otherwise then as we do endamage the fishes of the

sea, which are in another Element then this that we are in. For as among a thousand sorts of fishes that swimme in the plaines of the Ocean, wee can take but some fewe of them: so may the Divels wel work har me and mischiefe vnto some men, but not vnto all. -notes- G1Answer to their fourth argument.

Page 93

Thus I say, might a man answere them in naturall reason: But to answere them according to divinitie, (at least if they do admit of divinitie) It is sufficiently knowne that the Divells have no further power to hurt or annoy men, then God doth permit and suffer them. Their fist and last Argument doth in some sort depend of that which went before, and is thus. G1 If there bee Divels, either they are inferiour or equall vnto the Angels: If they be inferiour, then should they be both mortall, and immortall together, as participating of the nature angelicall (to whom they are inferiour) and of humane nature also, (to whom they are superiour) by reason they are placed and put in the ayre betweene men and Angels. But it is not to be beleevd that the spirits should be both mortall and immortall together. Againe, if they be equall vnto the Angells; what shoulde let and hinder them that they should not destroy mankind, they being invisible, and not being vnder the commaund and government of the Angels? Herevnto I answere, That the Angels and Divels are indeed equall as touching their spirituall nature, but in regard of grace and puissance, there is great difference betweene them. G2 For the Divels are perpetually and for ever exiled and banished from heaven, by reason of their transgression: and they are subiect to the scourge and vengeance of God, as themselves have sometimes confessed by their, Oracles. And as touching their power and puissance, albeit the same be very great: and that no earthly puissance may be compated to that Leviathan, (as is written in the booke of lob:) yet so it is, that the Angelles doe rule and bridle them, and doe restraine and hinder them from exercising their rage and fury, as being their superiors, and having power of rule and commaund over them. G3But to finish this Discourse no we in question, to wit, whether there be any Divells, or not, let vs come to examine certaine reasons alleadged by Ierome Cardan, by which he assayeth to proove, that those Specters that do -notes- G1Their fist argument. G2Answer to their fist argument. G3De varieta.ror. The opinion and reason of Cardan, roaming Specters, end appearing about the sepulchres of the dead.

Page 94

vsually appeare eyther about the toombes and sepulchres of the dead, or in certaine Countries of the Occident and Westernne partes of the world, be no other then things meerely naturall. As concerning those of sepulchres, he sayth; That naturaliy a man may see out of them certaine shadowes, which by way of impression, doe referre and make shew of the visage, the port, and the greatnesse of those that have been there buried and enterred in no great depth within the ground: And his words are these; "That the carcasses being yet moist and fresh, may send forth of the carth a kinde of shadow which shall represent their shape and likenesse." Wherevnto I say, that the corps or bodies which are newly dead, have their pores stopt and shut vp: so as they cannot yeelde any exhalation from them, but onely when they come to putrefaction: I do not say but that they may cast from them by the naturall conduits a certaine putrefied humour. But that cannot make any entire shadowe, much lesse may a man affirme, that when they are putrified, they can evaporate any thing which may resemble their forme and shape. For from an entire and whole body, an entyre and whole shadow ought to be made. But the bodies which are putrified are not entire, but beginne to dissolve and to be reduced into dust or ashes. Yet wil I casily agree to that he aledgeth in an other place, touching the sepulchre of Alexander de Medicis, which is to beseene at Florence: and that is, that the fat of his corpes had so pierced cleane through his Sepulchre, which was of faire white Marble, that the same was therewithall wholly spotted and blemished. And there is some more apparance of reason in this, then to say that the vapor of a dead body, evaporated out from the same, can expresse the stature and forme of the body. But indeed it was the custome of Cardan to be opinionative and obstinate, as well in things naturall as supernaturall: and he would seeme both of the one and the other, to yeeld some reason which should many times serve to carrie a great shew and apparance,

Page 95

though most commonly they were verie simple and of small strength and substance. G1 And as touching the Occidentall and westernne Countryes, as the Isle of Iseland, where the inhabitants doe vsually see their friends and acquaintaunce after their decease and buriall to appeare vnto them, to embrace them, and in the midst of their embracings, after they haue spoken and talked vnto them, sodamly to vanish away and be no more seene, He sayeth, That such Specters are not seene indeede, but onely imaginatively, and hee giveth a reason for it: the which it shall not be amisse to set downe worde for worde as he hath alledged it, to the intent it may bee knowne vpon what

foundation he buildeth his opinion. "The Isle of Iseland (sayth he) is full of a kinde of pitch, or clay, partaking of the nature of Sulphur or Brimstone, and the inhabitants thereof live for the most part of the yeare vpon Apples and roots, and vpon bread made with meale of the bones of fishes, and of pure water: because the Island is so barren that it beareth neither corne nor wine. By reason whereof, the spirites of the people doe become verie grosse and dull, partly in regard of their manner of living, and of the ayre, and partly in respect of the nature of the soyle and by meanes of the extreame cold that there exceedeth. And thereof it proceedeth that for the thicknesse of the aire, and for the vapours which are ingendred by reason of the colde, many images and formes are seene wandring and straying here and there: the which the feare, and imagination, and the weaknes of the braine in the inhabitants, doth conceive and retaine even so long till they come to fall vnder the sense of the sight, which suffereth it selfe to be perswaded, that they are true formes and shapes in verie deed. And when the sight (which is the most sharpe and quickest of all the senses) is once offended and abused; then do those Ilanders thinke and beleeeve, that they see, touch, and embrace the Specters and vaine Images of such men as are dead, and were knowne vnto them in their life time: for that the minde dooth alwayes -notes- G1Opinion of Cardan touching Specters appearing in the western countries of the world, as Iseland, and c.

Page 96

perswade it self of things known vnto them, and conceyved in their fantasie. And he addeth: But this may be thought verie straunge, how these vaine visions of spirites should feeme in the end, to speake and talke vnto them, and when they are vanishing away from them, to tell the inhabitants that they go thence into the Mountaine Hecla. Neverthelesse, wee must know thus much, that this Mountaine is like that of Mongtbell in Stcilye, which at times doth vomit out flames of fire: which is the cause, that through a long and inveterated perswasion, the inhabitants of this Isle have beene of opinion, that within the hollow places and Caverns of this Mountaine, the soules of the dead doe endure their purgatorie: like as many also are perswaded, that the soules did suffer in Mongibell, which in times past was held to be the Forge and furnace of Vulcan, and of late hath bin callet Ætna, a name which in mine opinion commeth of Athuna; that signifieth an Oven." Thus you see what Cardan sayth concerning those spirits, that doe sometimes shew themselves and appeare in Island: wherevnto answere may bee made: That the Isle of Thule now called Iseland, is not so barren

and vnfruitfull as he reporteth it: neither are the inhabitants so poore and miserable, as that they do live of nothing but of meale of fish-bones, in stead of bread.G1 Those that have beene in this Isle, doe report no such matter. And as touching the nature of this soyle, being full of a kind of pitch of the nature of Sulphre, or Brimstone: I beleeeve Cardan in that poynt: but yet that the bad and corrupt feeding, and nouriture of vnwholsome and grosse nutriments, or that this pitch it selfe can so thicken the ayre, and the sensitive spirits in such sort, as a man should imagine himselfe to see, touch, and embrace spirits and specters: that is beyond my knowledge. I make no doubt but that herbes and rootes being taken without any other nutritive substance: and those meates that are of evill digestion to the stomacke, or doe carrie a strong savour in the mouth, as -notes-G1Answer to the latter reason of Cardan.

Page 97

Onions, Garlike, and such like things doe thicken and corrupt the ayre, so as it may cause infection: And thereof commeth the Proverb; That after a Famine, commeth the Pestilence. For the poore people not having bread to feede vpon, doe sustaine and norish themselves with such infectious victualls: And then when the Sunne hath heated the ayre, and being at the height, doth shoote and pierce into the bowells of the earth, (as Homer termeth it,) and doth make vs to feele the force of her scorching beames and parching heate. Then incontmently doth the Pestilence also beginne to grow hote by the infection of the ayre, which is before infected by the corrupt feeding of the people. Moreover I know well that Brimstone and Sulphre do thicken the ayre; insomuch as the birds sometimes flying over it, do sodainely fall downe dead. Neverthelesse (as I have already said,) I cannot conceive, that by reason of bread and ill feeding, or by vertue of the soile partaking of sulphre, a man should see any Specters, and those false and imaginative onely: For the land of Iewry (where the like kinde of pitch or sulphre groweth in the lake Asphaltites, doth not complaine of seeing any Spectes, as the Islanders doe. And if such pitch or sulphurous soyle, should cause the generation of Specters, assuredly they would appeare and shew themselves more easily in the land of Iewry, then in Island: because in Iewry the ayre is more warme and of much more heate then in Iseland, where the windes do carry a great sway: The which will soone dissipate and scatter all figures created in a grosse and thicke ayre, so as they shall not have any leasure to forme and shape themselves. For there must of necessitie be such an ayre as may bee warme and milde, without any windes, that should cause them to stay and abide so long,

that a man may exactly discern them as Specters. And this is a thing most cleere and manifest, that the winter and the colde are so farre from making the ayre warme or thicke, that they do rather make it cleere, pure, and subtile. Last of all, I will say this more, that if the Specters

Page 98

do proceede in Iseland, by reason of the ayre which is perpetually thicke and grosse there in that Countrey. We must conclude also, that the Specters there, should be perpetuall likewise. But the Iselanders do not see any but very seldome, and that but once onely in their whole life time: How then is it possible that the ayre should bee the cause of their generation? But let vs admit all these reasons of Cardan together with their absurdities, and let vs see what answer he will make to his owne obiection; in that he affirmeth how these Specters do speake and talke vnto men, saying; That they go to the mountaine Herlu. Is the pitch or sulphur in that soyle the cause thereof; or is it caused by the thicke and grosse ayre, or by the nuture and feeding of the inhabitants? Can the sense of hearing be offended and abused as well as the sight, by meanes of the ayre, that it should enter within the cartilage or gristle of the eare, and that it should carry by the empty passage thereof even into the braine, distinct and plaine sounding voyces, and yet such as should notwithstanding be false and imagined? Truly these reasons are farre vnworthy and vnbeseeeming a man any thing (though never so little) seene or exercised in Philosophy: much more so great a Philosopher and Physitian as Cardan was. Neverthelesse I am of the opinion that Cardan did not erre in Philosophie through ignorance, but having a desire continually to appeare more learned, he did ever bend himselfe to impugne that which hee knew the soundest and best part of men did hold and maintain. And amongst other things he did ever shew a minde and disposition in the greatest part of his bookes, to call in doubt and question the apparition of Specters: In the which notwithstanding he doth mervelously repugne and contrary himselfe, not knowing if there were any specters, or if there were none; sometimes alledging the authority of Psellus, and sometimes that of Facius Cardanus, his owne father: (Both which did constantly maintaine the Specters and Apparitions of divells, and

Chapter 5

Page 99

especially Facius Cardanus, who had not onely one spirit and familiar, but seaven, all at one time, which did reveale vnto him and acquaint him plainely with many strange and goodly mervailles:) and sometimes affirming that all whatsoever was spoken and reported of the Apparition of spirits and Specters, was nothing else but ieasts, tales, and leasings. But this shall suffice for the discussing of Cardan, his reasons and opinions. Let vs now therefore proceede to refute the opinion of those which affirme: that the Angells and divells cannot take vpon them a body like vnto this of ours. CHAP. V. Of the Arguments of those which deny that the Angells and Divells can take vnto them a Bodie. They which doe deny that the Angells and divells can take vnto them a body, do not ayme at the marke to deny their essence, (as do the Saduces:) but they doe it onely to disprove and impugne their Apparition. For it is a good consequent; If the Angells and divells take not vpon them any body, then can they not appeare: And if one should reply vnto them and say; That in our spirit and vnderstanding the Angells and divells may give some shew and token of their presence. To this they have their exception readie: That things spirituall and intelligible, and all sorts of intelligences, doe represent themselves by things that are sensible. Wee will see therefore by what reasons they indeavour to proove, that an Angell or a divell cannot take a body vnto them?G1 No body (say they,) can be vnited to an incorporall substance, but onely that it may have an essence and a motion by the meanes of that substance. But the Angells and diuells cannot have a body vnited in regard of any essence: - notes- G1First obiection to proove that Angells and divells cannot take vnto them a body.

Page 100

for in so doing we must conclude, that their bodies should be naturally vnited vnto them, which is altogether vntrue: and therefore it remayneth that they cannot be vnited vnto a bodie, but onely in regard of the motion: which is a reason of no sufficiencie for the approving of their opinion. For thereof would follow an absurditie in regarde of the Angels: to wit, That they might take all those bodies that are moved by them, which is a verie great and grosse error. For the Angell did move the tongue of Balaams Asse: and yet he entred not in his tongue. And therefore it cannot be said that an Angell or a Divell, can take a bodie vnto them. To this Argument I auswere, That true it is, that an Angell and a Divell, cannot (to speake properly) take vnto them every bodie that is moved: For to take a bodie signifieth to adhere vnto the bodie.G1 Now the Angels and the Divels do take vnto them a bodie, not to vnite it to their nature,

aud to incorporate it together with their essence: as hee that taketh any kinde of meate for sustenance: much lesse to vnite the same to their person: as the sonne of God tooke vpon him the humane nature: But they doe it onely, that they may visibly represent themselves vnto the sight of men. And in this sort the Angels and Diuels are said to take a bodie, such as is apt and fit for their apparition, as appeareth by the authoritie of "Denys Ariopagyte, who writeth, that by the corporal forms the properties of Angels are knowne and discerned."G2 Again they say, That if the Angels and Diuels doe take a bodie, it is not for any necessitie that they have, but onely to instrct and exhort vs to live well, as do the Angels; or to deceive and destroy vs, as do the Diuels.G3 Now both to the one and the other, the imaginarie vision, or the tentation is sufficient: and therefore it seemeth, that it is not needfull they should take vnto them any bodie. G4I answer: that not onely the imaginarie vision of Angels is necessary for our instruction, but that also which is corporall and bodily, as we shall shew anone, when we -notes- G1Answer to the first Argument, or obiection. G2Cap.15.celest. Hierachiaë. G3The second Argument. G4Answer to the second Argument.

Page 101

intreate of the Apparition of Angels. And as concerning the Diuels, God doth permit them both visibly and invisibly to tempt vs, some to their salvation, and some to their damnation. Moreover they thus argue: That God appeared vnto the Patriarchs, (as is to be seene in the old Testament, and the good Angels likewise,) as Saint Augustine proveth in his Bookes of the Trinitie.G1 Now wee may not say, that God tooke vpon him any body, except onely in that mysterie of his Incarnation. And therefore it is needlesse to affirme, that the Angels which appeare vnto men, may take vpon them a bodie. I answer, (as doth Saint Augustine) who sayth: That all the apparitions which were in the olde Testament, were made by the ministerie of Angels, who formed and shaped vnto themselves certaine shapes and figures imaginarie and corporall, by which they might reduce and drawe vnto God, the soule and spirite of him that sawe them: as it is possible; that by figures which are sensible, men may be drawne and lifted vp in spirit and contemplation vnto God. G2 And therefore wee may well say, that the Angels did take vnto them a bodie, when they appeared in such apparitions. But now God is sayde to have appeared; because God was the butte and marke, whervnto by vision of those bodies, the Angels did endeavour and seeke to lift vp vnto God the soules of men. And this is the cause that the Scripture sayth, That in these Apparitions sometimes God appeared, and sometimes the

Angels. Furthermore, they make this obiection: Like as it is agreeing naturally to the soule to be vnited to the bodie: so, not to be vnited vnto a bodie, is proper and naturall vnto the Angels and Diuels. G3 Now the soule cannot bee separated from the bodie when it will: Therefore the Angels and Diuels also cannot take vnto them a bodie when they will. For answere whereof, I confesse that everie thing -notes- G1The third Argument. Li.3.ca.11. and 12. G2Answer to their third Argument. G3Their fourth Argument.

Page 102

borne and ingendred hath not any power over his being: for all the power of any thing floweth from the essence thereof, or presupposeth an essence: And because the soule by reason of her being, is vnited vnto the body, as the forme thereof: it is not in her puissance to deliver herselfe from the vnion of the body.G1 And so in like manner it is not in the power of any Angell or diuell to vnite themselves to any body as the forme thereof: but they may well take a body whereof they may be the mooving cause, and (if a man may so speake,) as the figure of the figure. They affirme moreover, that betweene the body assumed, (if I may vse this word,) and the party assuming, there ought to be some proportion and similitude: But betweene an Angell or diuell, and a body, there is not any proportion; for both the one and the other are of diuers kindes, and by consequent both of them are incompatible together. G2 To this I answer, That if the proportion be taken according to the quantitie, greatnes, and measure, there is no proportion betweene the Angells or diuells, and a body; because their greatnesse is not of one and the same kinde, nor of one and the same consideration. G3 Notwithstanding nothing can let but that there may be a certaine habitude of an Angell to a body: as of a thing that mooveth to the motion, and of a thing figured to the figure, the which may be termed a proportion. Another Argument they make which is this: No substance finite (whatsoever it be) can have many operations together: An Angell is a substance finite; and therefore it cannot both minister vnto vs, and take to it selfe a body together.G4 G5But this is easily dissolved, for I say, that these two operations: To take a body, and to serve in their ministerie are ordained mutually to the Angells: And therefore nothing hindreth them, but that the Angells may vse both of them at|once, and together.G6 Again they inferre, that if Angells and diuells do take -notes- G1Answer to their fourth Argument. G2Their fift Argument. G3Answer to their fift Argument. G4The fixt Argument. G5Answer to their fixt Argument. G6Their seaventh Argument.

a body, eyther it is a Celestiall Body, or some other having the nature of some of the foure Elements. Now the Angells cannot take a Celestiall Body, for that the Body of the heaven cannot devide it selfe, nor cannot make any abstraction from it selfe: much lesse can the divells have that power, seeing the Angells have it not. Besides, they cannot take vnto them a body of Fire, for then they should consume and burne the bodie, neere to which they doe approach: much lesse can they take a body of the Ayre, for that is not figurable: neyther can they take any bodie that is a moveable Element, and retaineth no forme; nor yet by the same meane, can they have a Terrestriall bodie; for we see it written how the Angels do very soone and sodainly vanish away out of sight, as it appeared by that angel which came to Tobias. And the divels also when they shew themselves in any aparition, can in a moment withdraw themselues from the sight of men. And therefore being vnable and vnapt to take vpon them any body, eyther Elementarie or Celestiall: It must needes follow that they appeare not at all. G1 To this I answer, That the Angells and divells may take a body of any Element whatsoever, and which themselves will; yea, and of many Elements mixt together. G2 Neverthelesse it is most likely to be true, and the common opinion is; that they doe soonest of all take vnto them a bodie of the ayre, by thickning the same and forming it of vapors, that mount and arise from the earth, and in turning and mooving it at their pleasure, as the winde mooveth the clouds, being able to make the same to disapppeare and vanish away againe whensoever they will, by reason that it is nothing but a vapor. G3 But yet this will not satisfie them, but they go further saying; That every assumption of a body, is limited and bounded with some Vnion: But of an Angel and of a body, there cannot be made any of those Three meanes of vnity, of which Aristotle speaketh: For they cannot bee made one by Continuation, by Inseparabilitie, nor by Reason. G4 -notes- G1Answer to their seaventh Argument. G2What kinde of body Angells and divells take vnto them when they appeare. G3Their eight Argument. G4Lib. 1. Phisico.

To this a man may answer as before, That there is not any vnion in the assumption of a body by an Angel. For if there were a vnion, then in truth that which Aristotle speaketh, should bee requisite betweene the Angel and the body which it assumeth. But there is not betweene them any vnion, save onely that which is of a thing mooving to the thing mooved, as wee have before

affirmed. Againe, the good Angells (say they) in appearing vnto vs, eyther do take True Figures visible and palpable, or such as are altogether False.G1 If they have such as be True, it should then follow, that if they appeare in a humane body, then they do assume a True humane body: But this is impossible, vnlesse we should say; That an Angell may enter into the body of a man, which is a thing not convenient nor agreeable vnto the Angelicall Nature. And if they have False Figures, this would be much more vnfitting and vnbeseeing them, for that all feyning and dissembling, or any kinde of fiction is very vnseemely in the Angells of Truth. And therefore in what sorte and fashion it bee, the Angells cannot take any Body vpon them. To this obiection I answer, That the bodies which the Angells do take, have True and vnfeyned formes so farre forth, as they may be seene and perceived by the senses, be it in their colour or their Figure, but not according to the nature of their kinde: For that cannot become sensible but by accident.G2 That therefore is no cause why a man should say, that there is any fiction and feyning in the Angells: for they do not oppose and set before our eyes humane shapes and formes, because thereby they would bee thought and esteemed to be men: but to the end that by their humane properties, we should know the vertues of the Angells. And like as Metaphornas speeches are not therefore any whit the sooner to be reputed false, in which by the similitude of things, other significations are comprehended: So the figures and formes of Angells are not false, because they are taken and assumed to the similitude and -notes- G1Their ninth Argument. G2Answer to their ninth Argument.

Page 105

semblance of men. More then so (they reply) that the Angells and diuells by the vertue of their Nature, cannot worke or create any effects within humane bodies, save only by the meanes of their naturall vertues. G1 But their naturall vertues cannot be in things corporall to forme any Figure of a humane body, but onely by the vsuall and determined meane of generation, to wit, by the seede naturally ordayned to that effect: in which sort the Angells and diuells cannot take a body vpon them. And the same reason and consideration is there of other figures, of earthly bodies also which they take vnto them. But heerevnto this answer may be made them, That albeit the naturall vertues of a body, do not suffice to produce a true shape of a humane body, but onely by the due and ordinary meane of generation: Neverthelesse so it is, that the Angells and diuells are capable to clothe themselves, and to put on a certaine similitude of humane bodie, as touching the colour and figure, and other such exterior Accidents, and that

especially at such a time, as when it may suffice them by a locall motion, to moove any such bodies; by meanes whereof, both the vapors are thickned, and againe purefied and made thin; as also the clouds are diversly painted and figured. G2 But they object againe, that this is not sufficient: But (they say) that it behooveth the cause, mooving to infuse some vertue into the body mooved, but cannot infuse any vertue, except it touch it. G3 And if it bee so that the Angells have not any touching nor feeling with the bodie, it seemeth that then they cannot moove it. And therefore it must needes be, that they cannot take vpon them any body. G4 But it may be said, that the Angells by their commandement onely, may moove the body with a motion locall, which they give vnto it in touching of it, not with a corporall kinde of touching, but a spirituall. G5 Against this solution, they dispute further saying; It behooveth -notes- G1 Their tenth Argument. G2 Answer to their tenth Argument. G3 A reply to the former answer. G4 Answer to the reply. G5 A surreply to the former answer.

Page 106

the mover, and the thing moved, to be connexed and vnited together, as appeareth by Aristotle. G1 But in saying that an Angell doth commaund any thing of his own will, it is to bee presupposed that then hee is not together with the bodie, which is saide to bee governed by him: and therefore he cannot move the bodie only by his commaundement. Herevnto I answere, That the commaundement of the Angell doth demaund an execution of his vertue and puissance: and therefore it must of necessitie bee, that there be some spirituall touching of that bodie by which it is moved. They insist yet further, and say: That the Angels cannot move bodies with any locall motion: and that therefore in vaine should the bodies bee obedient vnto them, seeing they should still remain immoveable. G2 And to prove this they bring diverse arguments. Their first Argument is taken from the authoritie of Aristotle, who sayth: That the locall motion is the principall, and most perfect of all other motions. G3 Now the Angels (if it be graunted that they take a bodie) cannot vse any lesser or inferiour motions: It followeth therefore by a more forcible reason, that they can much lesse vse any locall motion, which is the greatest, and the most excellent of all others. But the answere is easie, and we say: That the Angels moving themselves with a locall motion by the phantasmaticall bodie which they take, may also cause the other lesser motions, by vsing some corporal agents for the producing of those effects which they purpose: like as the Smith vseth fire to soften the yron, and to reduce it to that which they have an intention to

make of it. G4 And as touching that saying of Aristotle, That the locall motion is the chiefest of all motions: the reason thereof is, because everie corporall nature having life, as apt to move it selfe locally by the meanes of the soule, bee it either reasonable or sensitive, which giveth life vnto it. -notes- G1Li 7. Phisic. G2The eleventh Argument. G38. Phisicorum. Arguments vrging that angels cannot move bodies with a locall motion. G4Answer to the first reason.

Page 107

Their second Argument is; That the locall motion of naturall bodies doth follow their formes: But the Angels are not causes of the formes of naturall bodies, and therefore they cannot be a meane to give them any locall motion. G1 Nevertheless, answere may be made them, That in bodies there bee other locall motions then those that doe adhere vnto the formes: as the flowing and ebbing of the Sea, doe not follow the substantiall forme of the water, but the influence of the Moone: with much greater reason therefore may other local motions (then such as adhere to the formes) follow spirituall and incorporall substances. G2 Their third Argument is: That the corporall members do obey to the conception of the soule in a locall motion, in as much as they have from her the beginning of life: now the bodies which the Angels take vnto them, have not from them the beginning of life: for then it would behooove that the bodies and the Angels should be vnited together. G3 And therefore it followeth, that the bodies by them assumed, cannot bee obedient to any locall motion. I answere, That the Angels have their vertue lesse restrayned or hindred then the soules, insomuch that being separated from all corporall massinesse, they may neverthelesse take an ayrie bodie, the which they can move locally at their will and pleasure. G4 Besides all the former Arguments, they replie yet further, and say: That everie corporall motion doth not obey to the commaund of the Angels, as touching the forming and fashioning thereof: now the figure which the angels take, is as a kinde of forme. G5 And therefore by the onely commaundement of the angels, cannot any bodie take any forme or figure whatsoever, bee it either of man, or of any other diverse kinde comprised vnder one gender. To this the answere is, That the figure which the angells -notes- G1The second reason. G2Answer to the second reason. G3The third reason. G4Answer to the third reason. G5Their twelfth Argument.

Page 108

take, is in very truth a forme which is made by the abscision and dismembring (as a man may say) of the thickning of the ayre, or

by the purefaction of it, or by the similitude and motion which may bee taken of the same matter. G1 But there is a very great difference between the forme and Figure that is made so accidentally, and that which is natural and according to the true substance of a thing, the which cannot possibly be confounded with this accidentall Figure. This is not all which they object: for they say further touching the Divells; That if they doe invest themselves with a body, then they ought to be within the body which they have taken. G2 Now S. Ierome interpreting that place of the Psalmist; The Lord in his holy Temple: and the Glosse doe say, that the divells do command and rule over images and idolls externally, and cannot be in them internally: and the idolls are bodies as every man knoweth. And therefore it cannot be said, that the divells can take vpon them any bodies. I answer, That to be in or within a body of some substance, hath a double and two-folde entendment or vnderstanding. G3 In the first sort it is vnderstoode vnder the Termes of Divinitie. And in this manner, nothing letteth but that the Divell may be in a body. In the second sort it is meant according To the essence, as in giving a being to the thing, and in working man in it, which is proper vnto God onely: Howbeit that God doth not make a part in the essence of any thing: For God is a substance seperated and abstracted solely and onely in it selfe. And for the further interpretation of Saint Ierome and the Glose, which say, That the divell is not in images: wee may affirme, that they do privily and closely reprehend the false opinion of the Paynims and Idolaters, who made but one thing of the Idoll (were it of wood, brasse, or stone,) and of the vncleane spirit that remained within it: and by that meanes would have made a living substance of that which in it own nature was sencelesse and without life, -notes- G1 Answer to their twelfth Argument. G2 Their thirteenth Argument, that divells cannot take a body. G3 Answer to their thirteenth Argument.

Page 109

not having eyther hands to touch withall, or feete to goe on, or tongue to speake with; except such onely as the divell did seeme to give vnto it by his deceitfull illusions. To make short, they object this argument also: If the Angells and divells do take to them any body, eyther they are vnited vnto The whole body, or to some Part thereof: If they be vnited onely to a Part thereof, then can they not moove the other part, but onely by the meanes of that part which they do moove. G1 But this cannot possibly be; for otherwise the body assumed, should have such parts as should have the Organs determined to the motion, which is proper to none but living bodies. But if the Angells and

divells be Vnited immediately to the whole body, it behooveth them then also to possesse everie part of that body which they have taken to them: and so by that meanes they should be in many places, which is proper and appertaining to God onely: And therefore the Angells and divells cannot take any body vnto them. To this argument answer may be made in this manner; That the Angell or divell so taking any body vpon him, is wholly in the whole body which it assumeth, or else in a part thereof, as the soule is in the body.G2 For albeit he be not the forme of the body which it assumeth, as is the soule; yet so it is, that he is the moover thereof. Now it behooveth that the moover and the thing mooved, should be together: And it is nothing to the purpose to say, that an Angell or divell, filling a body whole and entyre of substance, can be in divers places: for the whole body assumed by an Angell or divell, is not but in one place onely, albeit the same be admitted to have many members and many parts. Thus farre have I done my best, both to set downe and to refute all the reasons and arguments obiected by those who deny that Angells and divells can assume and take vnto them a body: to the intent that from hence forth their mouths might be stopped, and that they may -notes- G1Their fourteenth Argument. G2Answer to their fourteenth Argument.

Page 110

not esteeme as fables the histories of Specters, and of the Apparitions of spirits. But before I come to conclude this discourse, I may not forget to tell you how that many of the Rabbins and Iewes which have taken vpon them to interpret the holy Scriptures, have held opinion and beene of the beliefe, that those Angells which appeared to the Patriarkes and Prophets, did not appeare in any body, nor did assume vnto them any body to make themselves visible.G1 And of this opinion amongst others was Rabbi Moses, one of the most learned Rabbins of the Iewes, who said; That all that which is read and recorded in the olde Testament of the Apparition of Angells, did come by an imaginarie vision: that is to say, sometimes in sleeping, and sometimes in waking.G2 But this position (as Saint Thomas of Aquin calleth it,) cannot prevaile against the truth of the Scriptures: for by the phrase and manner of speeches which are vsuall in the bookes of the old Testament, it is easie to know and discerne a difference, that which is signified and declared to have Appeared purely and simply to our eyes, from that which is said to bee done by the meanes of a Prophetickall vision. For when it ought to be vnderstoode, that any Apparition was made by way of vision, there are some words put downe and inserted, which do properly appertaine to the vision, such as the Scriptures do

intend; as in Ezechiel, the spirit of the Lord (saith he) lifted me vp betweene the heaven, and the earth, and led me into Ierusalem, by the visions of the Lord.^{G3} I say therefore, that when it appeareth that things are said to be done simply, wee ought to vnderstand them as done simply and truly. Now we reade in the old Testament, that many Apparitions have beene made in body: And therefore we ought to grant, that the Angells do sometimes assume and take vnto them a body, in forming such a body as is sensible and subiect to the externall and corporall vision, as well as some kinde of shapes do forme themselves in our imagination, which do produce an imaginative vision when wee are sleeping. -notes- ^{G1}Of the opinion of the Iewish Rabbins, touching the Apparitions mentioned in the old Testament. ^{G2}The: Aquin quest: de Miracalis Arti.7. ^{G3}Ezechiel ca.8.

Chapter 6

Page 111

But this shall suffice touching this matter. Let vs come therefore to the Sceptiques, whose manner is to doubt of all things, and do make a question whether our senses be true or not. CHAP. VI. Of the opinions of the followers of Pirrhon, the Sceptiques, and the Aporetiques, and what they alleadge, to shew, that the humane senses, and the imaginative power of man, are false. Having fully and amply satisfied those that deny the being of Angells and diuells, and the Apparitions of Specters: Now remaineth to be handled the last point that wee promised to speake of, to wit, Whether that which we doe perceive by our externall and outward senses, sound and not corrupted: or, that which our imaginative faculty apprehendeth in working: be false and not considerable. And although this point doth not almost deserve to have any place in this Discourse, by reason that the opinion of all men, hath in all ages condemned such as have held nothing to be true and certaine of that which commeth and falleth vnder the senses: Yet, that we may make them to see at this day the error and incredulitie of some madheaded and braine sicke Philosophers of former times, (like vnto our Atheists and Libertines at this day,) I was the more willing to set downe the reasons which mooued them to thinke, That the truth of each thing was hidden from vs, and that nothing could be comprehended, but

Page 112

that which is false and vntrue. But you must vnderstand that the source and first originall of this error, came from Socrates, who

saides That he knew not any thing save this one thing onely: to wit, that he knew nothing.G1 But therein he was repugnant to himselfe: for seeing that he knew some thing he shewed, that he had at the least a certaine science and knowledge of that one thing. And in saying that hee knewe naught, but onely this, that he knew nothing, hee shewed; That hee had the science and knowledge of that whereof he was ignorant.G2 "Before him Heraclitus had said, That the truth was hidden in the bottome of a pit, from whence is never returned back againe, but there remained buried and over-whelmed out of the knowledge of men. And if we have any knowledge at all, it is not but in a shadow, and by some other meane then by our senses, or by our imaginative faculty, both which are easie to be seduced and deceived." After Heraclitus and Socrates came the first Academye, instituted by Plato, and by Xenocrates his disciple, "which held, that the senses erred, but that by the intelligence the truth might be discovered:" like as when we set sayle to the seas in passing along the coast, wee suppose that the land, the Isle, and the haven, do moove and retyre away from vs, and we thinke that an Oare is broken when we see it in the water, howbeit that we doe in very deede soone conceive and vnderstand the contrarys to wit, that it is we our selves that moove and depart away from the port and the shore; and that the Oare is sound and whole. G3 But the other Academye went much farther, and maintained, That the intellectuall part was also deceived: "for if we had the same, sound and entire, we should not be deceived and abused as wee commonly are. G4 Besides it, denied, that we had any certain science or knowledge of any things and affirmed that both the senses and the opinion, as also the imagination, were all of them things false and deceitfull:" and peradventure -notes- G1The opinion and saying of Socrates. G2Opinion of Heraclitus. G3Opinion of Plato and Xenocrates. G4Opinion of some other Philosophers of the second Academye.

Page 113

they were there vnto mooved, by reason of that contrarietie which it saw the Philosophers held amongst themselves, vpon the difference of the Opinion, the Sense, the Imagination, and the Intelligence.G1 For Plato doth confound the Imagination and Opinion together: And Aristotle did not alwaies ioyne the Imagination with Opinion, "because (said he) The Imagination is as an Impression, and (as it were) the tracke and foote-step of the Sense, and not a determinate sentence or resolution of the Opinion and of the Sense." For if you plunge or dippe an oare into the water, it seemes to be broken: and this doth the Sense of the Sight shew vnto vs: And after commeth the Imagination,

the which by the Opinion that resisteth the errour of the Sight, is made to vanish and passe away againe as soone. So that we may see, that Aristotle esteemed the Opinion and Intelligence to bee but one thing, which notwithstanding is altogether false and vntrue. And in my conceit the Epicures seeme to give a very good resolution vpon this point, in that they confound in one the Opinion, and the Imagination, and affirme that both the one and the other may be true or false: But, that our Persevering Opinion (which they call [Greek omitted]:) is not deceived: as when one approacheth neere vnto a Tower, and beholdeth it as it is indeede. And surely Saint Bernard (according to the saying of the Epicures) sheweth that the Opinion taken simply in it selfe, may be false, and maketh it greatly to differ from the Intellect where hee writteth in this manner: "Multi suam opinionem Intellectum put averunt and erraverunt. Et quidem opinio potest putari intellectus: Intellectus opinio non potest. G2 vnde hoc accidit? Profecto quia hac falli potest, ille non potest. Aut si falli potuit, intellectus non fuit sed opinio. verus nempe intellectus, certam habet non modo veritatem, sed and notitiam veritatis. That is to say; many have deemed that their Opinion was an Intellect, and they were deceived." And in trueth the Opinion may well be called the Intellect, or Vnderstanding: but the Intellect cannot be termed -notes- G1The contrarietie of opinions amōgst the Philosophers, touching the difference of imagination, the opinion, the sense, and intelligence. G2Lib. 5. de Consideracione.

Page 114

an Opinion: "Whereof commeth this? truely the cause is, for that the Opinion may be deceived, but the Intelligence cannot, or if it can be deceived, it was not an Intelligence, but an Opinion. For the true Intellect hath in it selfe, not onely a certaine truth, but also a knowledge of the truth." And a little after he defineth the Intellect, and the Opinion, saying; Intellectus est rei cuiusq invisibilis certa and manifesta notitia. G1 Opinion est quasi pro vero habere aliquid quod falsum esse nescias: "That is; the Intellect, or Vnderstanding, is a certaine and manifest knowledge of a thing that is Invisible: But the Opinion is when a man holdeth that for true, which he knoweth not to be false." G2 This definition of Opinion is agreeable to that which the Civilians make saying; That the Opinion is a kinde of tymorous and doubtfull answer, as, I thinke that this thing ought to be done, and I thinke that it ought not to be done. Now these Differences and Contrarieties of the Philosophers being full of exceeding great curiosity and subtilty of Arguments and Reasons, have bin the cause, that not onely the Academiques were deceived, but after them also Pirrhon the Elean Philosopher, who hath congested

into one, and made, as it were, an heape of idle Dreames and Fooleries from all the Philosophers his predecessors.^{G3} For with Heraclitus and Democritus he held, that the truth was hidden from men: and that he knew nothing of those things which he sawe: and that indeede he sawe many things which in truth were not. Of the which opinion also were Xenophanes, Zenon: Eleates, and Parmenides. Of whom the former held this heresie, That no man knew any thing perfectly. And the second sayde, That all things were indeede nothing, or none at all. And the last sayde, That all those things which seemed to be seene, were meerely false. So in like case Pirrhon, whatsoever argument or discourse were vrged or made vnto him, his answer alwayes was, That he doubted of it: and by such ambiguous and vncertaine answers hee helde in suspence all those that argued and disputed with - notes- ^{G1}Opinion defined, what it is. ^{G2}Aanrsius in § responsa prudentum. Theophil: ibid: Iust: de Iur: nat. Gent: and civili apud Iustinia. ^{G3}The opinion of Phirrhon the Philosopher and others, viz. that all things, and particularly senses, are vncertaine and deceived.

Page 115

him. For this cause hee was called the Aporrhétique or Sceptique, because that to every thing which was propounded vnto him, he never gave other aunswer then this, [Greek omitted], which is, I doubt of that.^{G1} And there is in the Greeke Epigrammes a very pleasant Epitaph composed by Iulian the apostata touching Pirrhon, the which in our language may not vnfitly be thus translated. ^{G2} Ap. O Pirrhon, art thou dead? P. Nay soft, I doubt of that, Ap. What? after death still doubtfull? P. Yea much more, I now rest doubtfull than I did before. Ap. Poore man: Tis time thou now leave off thy doubting, And let thy Tombe so ponderous and heavy, Henceforth make cease all doubtfulness within thee. "Lucian also scoffing at him and his folowers, saith, That they aide themselves of their senses, as if they had none at all: in not beleeving that they do see that which they have seene, or to heare that which they have heard, as being altogether senslesse, and not assuring any thing for certaine which may come into the vnderstanding by the senses." Sextus the Philosopher (who was one of this Sect,) hath written a very large volume, wherein he assayeth to maintaine the opinion of Pirrhon by the authority of many auncient Philosophers and Poets: and to shew by lively demonstrations and arguments, That the sight, the hearing, the smelling, and other the humane senses are subiect to be deceived, be they never so sound: and that wee doe neither imagine nor take an opinion of any thing, but falsely and inconsiderately. But it is more than time that we

doe set downe with as great brevitie as may be, what should move Pirrhon and his disciples to be so obstinate to deny all things though never so manifest, and to impugne the veritie of the senses. It is not without cause that I should touch this poynt: for it followeth with good reason, That if the Sense, the Imagination, and the Intellect be false: then that also which we - notes- G1Pirrhone called the Aporetique or Sceptick, and why? G2Lib.3.Epigr.

Page 116

comprehend by them (as the Specters) must needs bee false and deceitfull likewise. G1 And as touching Specters: Beholde what the Sceptiques do alleadge to refute them. First they say, That of things incomprehensible no demonstration can be made, and by consequence no iudgement. And as it is most sure and certaine that the Specters are incomprehensible in nature: so is it not possible for any man to give any demonstration or iudgement of them. For those thinges of which demonstration may be made, have a substance, certaine, comprehensible and assured to be such; which cannot be saide of Specters. The which even amongst the dogmaticall Philosophers (who were most earnest maintainers of that opinion is certaine) were called in doubt: as namely by the Peripatetiques, who of all other Philosophers being the most dogmaticall and opinionative, did wholly impugne and deny the being of any Specters. But to this argument I answere, That albeit the Specters be incomprehensible in their owne nature: yet when they appeare vnto vs, they are comprehensible by the senses, which doe carry them to the Intellect or vnderstanding: and the same dooth then give such demonstration and iudgement of them, according as is the subiect thereof; and that is, it iudgeth of them supernaturally, as of a thing supernaturall.G2 But (will the Sceptiques now say) The senses can not see or discern any thing in truth: and how is it then possible, that vpon an object falsely conceived, a man may ground his iudgement and maintaine the essence thereof?G3 But now let vs see what they alleadge for the regard of the senses. It is most certaine (say they) that the senses do not comprehend any thing but by th'accidents; Of the which the essence is vncertaine and variable according vnto the subiects wherein they offer themselves to be seene: For we see that in following the vncertaintie of the accidents, there are to be marked and observed diuers imaginations fantasies and natures in creatures, of which the senses doc' -notes- G1The Arguments of the Sceptiques against Specters. G2Answer to the first argument of the Sceptiques. G3The second argument of the Sceptikes. That the senses are

uncertaine and deceived in regarde of the uncertaintie, and variety of the accidents in man, which being knowne by the senses doe cause in them diverse and different imaginations and effects.

Page 117

comprehend and perceive some things either more or lesse in them: as the Eagle hath her sight more cleere then all other birdes: and the dogge hath his nostrilles more subtile to smell, and to take the sent of any thing, far more excellent than any other beast whatsoever. Contrariwise the Owle seeth not at all, but only in the night: and there are many creatures which can smell little or nothing at all. And this proceedeth not of any other thing than of the accidents, which being divers and different in creatures, dooth make their imaginative powers to be as divers and different likewise. That this is so, and that the accidents do present themselves in creatures according to the diversitie of their condition or disposition. It appeareth even amongst men, who according as they shall finde themselves disposed, so will they alwayes imagine the thinges that are present. As those that have a fever, doe iudge all things to be hote: and to them that have their tongue or taste distemperd by meanes of any fever wherewith they are aggrieved: all meates doe seeme to be exceeding bitter: and so is it likewise of all other accidents where with men are touched, and whereof they have an imagination by their senses. Insomuch that there are found some men who in their sleep walke and go vp and downe, and (which is almost incredible) doe execute all such actions as they vse to doe when they are waking. With such a maladie or infirmitie were stricken, Theon, Tishoreus the Stoicke, and the servant of Pericles, of whome wereade, That the one vsed to walke in his sleepe: and the other did vsually in his sleepe creepe vppe to the toppe of the house, as is reported by Diogenes Laertius.^{G1} And Francis Picus of Mirandola writeth, that himselfe knew many in his time to whome the like had happened. Besides, Aristotle in his booke of Auscultations writeth, That in the Cittie of Tarentum, there was a Taverner, which in the day time did vse to sell wine, and in the night would runne vppe and downe through the Towne in his sleepe, as if he had de beene madde or frantike, and yet would so well looke to -notes- ^{G1}Lib.9.de vita Philosophorum. Lib.examin is doctrin. Gent.

Page 118

the keeping of the keyes of his Taverne or Wine-seller, which he carried hanging at his girdle, that a many of gallants having plotted and made a match to get it from him, yet lost their

labour, and were disappointed of their purpose.G1 Bartholus also telleth how there was a certaine man in Pisa, which in his sleepe would vse to arise and arme himselfe, and to runne vp and downe wandering through the towne, still talking and singing as hee went.G2 And Marian a Doctour of the Civill Lawe writeth that there was a neighbour of his a yoong woman, that in her sleep would arise out of her bed, and bake her bread sleeping. G3 In like sorte Laudensis writeth how hee had a companion his fellow student at Paris, an Englishman borne, who without awaking, went in the night not farre from the Church of Saint Benet neere the river of Seyne where on a time he flew a little childe, and returned thence into his lodging, and so layd him downe againe into his bed. For my owne part I have heard from Mesieur Chalvest President at Tholousa, a man of great learning, how himselfe had sometimes a servant that would arise in his sleepe, and woulde answer very directly to any question that was demaunded of him, and after hee had clothed himselfe and put on his apparrell still sleeping, hee would not awaken for a quarter of an houre after.G4 The Philosopher Apuleius writeth, that Betonie is good to cure this maladie, and to hinder these walkings by night.G5 All this I have alleadged thus diffusedly, as being still in discourse of the opinion of the Pirrhonians, who affirme, That the accidents are nothing of themselves: and that whatsoever dooth happen to man accidentally, is not to be considered nor regarded, to the intent they may hereby inferre, That the senses can not comprehend any thing in truth, because the accidents are vncertaine. G6 They adde moreover, that by the particular nature of ech singular individuall vnder the species of man is manifestly to be discerned the incertaintie of the accidents, and of the qualities, yea and in some sorte of the humane senses also. For this they vrge Demophon one -notes- G1In lib.vt vim D.de Iust. and Iur. G2Cap.ad Audientium. G3Iu Clem.1.de homicid. G4Libello de Betonica. G5Betonie good to cure walking in the night. G6Of particular qualities in man shewing the vncertaintie of the accidents and qualities in them.

Page 119

of the Squires that was Carver to Alexander the great. How that contrary to the nature of all other men, hee would grow hote and warme in the shadow, and would shake and quiver for colde in the Sunne. And Andron the Argyve would travell throughout the most drie and barren sandie places of the desarts of Libia, without enduring of any thirstinesle. Others there have beene who onely by seeing, yea and by smelling of a Colewort, have fallen in a swoond. And Mathiolus doth assure vs, that he himselfe knew a man in whom this was naturall.G1 And albeit it

be most certaine that the Hemlocke bee a strong poyson, and that Secrates was poisoned therewith in the Citie of Athens: yet doth Gallen assure vs, that there was an old woman in that same Towne, which did feede and live vpon the same hearbe: what floweris more pleasant and odoriferous then the Rose in the sight of all men?G2 And yet Amatus the Porting all telleth vs, how he knew a man who by the only sight of a Rose, would fal into a swoounding.G3 Some there be that do not love flesh, others cannot away with Fish, some do abhorre Cheese: and there be some men to whome fruit is so hatefull, that if they do but see any to eate thereof, they will be enforced to fall on vomiting. Some againe have an excellent quicke and sharpe sight in the night, and in the darke, as had Tibertus Casar, and Cardan, and they can see but verie little or badly in the day. Others there be that will swallow glasse, mettall, wooll, bricks, and other such like things; and (which is almost incredible) by the heate of their stomack will be able to digest them.G4 But vnto all this that they alledge, the answe is soone and easily made; that for one particular a vniversall ought not to be infringed or destroyed: neyther ought we to iudge according to one only particular individuall alone, but according to that which happeneth most vsually and commonly to the nature of man. For as one onely Swallow maketh not summer; so vpon one onely and particular propertie or quallitie naturall, in any singular -notes- G1Comment.in Dioscor. G2Galenus 3. Simplic.Cent.2 36. G3Of this nature was the late L. Heneage G4Answer to the former argument, and sundry examples of the Pirrhoneans, touching the varietie and vncertainty of Accidents knowne by the senses.

Page 120

individuall, wee cannot iudge properly of the nature of the Species, or of the whole kinde vniversally. This disputation thus finished, touching the Accidents knowne and discerned by the Senses: The Pirrheniaus doe come next to the other part of their argument, to shew how cafie the senses are to be deceived.G1 And first of all they bring in the sight as the principall of all the senses, which neverthelesse is the most easie to be deceived. For first, if we will looke vnto the Sunne, which is the most noble Planet of all those that are called wandring Planets: it is not esteemed by our sight, to be any more then one onely foote in breadth and length: howbeit that in truth it bee tenne times more great then the whole earth. And who would bee perswaded that the Sunne did moove, if hee knew not the distance of the Orient from the South and the Occident?G2 Yea, some there have beene, (as Copernicus) who have made a doubt whether the earth did move or no, and whether the heavens were not

fixed and abiding in one certaine place. This then sheweth evidently, that the sight cannot plainly and manifestly iudge of things; for if the sight could discern the swift motion of the Heavens, from the weightinesse and vnmoveablenesse of the earth, in vaine were it for the Philosophers to endeavour to being in and alledge their reasons and arguments, and they would sooner be resuted, then they could devise how to make them good. And what made Aristotle (that great seacher of nature) to give vs so poore and simple a reason of the distance of the fixed starres, but onely the vncertaintie of the sight? was that demonstration of his good, whereby he would shew, that the Planets were neerest vnto vs by comparison of the candle, the which being neere vnto vs doth not sparkle, but being a farre off, doth seeme to sparkle and twinkle? Doe we not commonly see the contrary to happen? But wherefore by that reason of Aristotle, should not the Planets of Saturne, of Iupiter, and of Mars, (which are so same distant from vs) as well -notes- G1Obiections of the Pirrhonians, to shew how easie the senses are to be deceived. G2Examples to proove that the Sight is deceived, and by how many and sundry meanes.

Page 121

twinkle as do the starres? It behooveth therefore that we seeke out some other reason thereof, then by the sight. And what maketh vs to imagine, that there is a round crowne or circle about the Moone, which notwith standing is nothing else but a little clowde or mist? Is it not because our eye-sight is vncertaine and cannot discern it? Howbeit by the way, to this a man may say according to the Art Optique: That many right and perpendicular lines comming from divers parts, as well from the eye on the one side, as from the beames of the sunne on the othe side, (which is round and circuler) if they do come to encounter together and fall equally vpon one and the same point: This point must needs be the center of a circle. And therefore for the same reason, if any thing be beheld and contemplated perpendicularly (as the crowne or circle of the Moone,) it is not to be thought any thing strange if the same seeme to be round, although it be nothing so; neyther ought any man therefore to say, that the sight is deceived. The Pirrhonians doe further alleadge, that our sight is deceived, when we thinke that an oare is broken in the water: when in ryding we suppose that the hills and mountaines do move: when a shrub, or the trunke and stub of a tree, broken and dissevered from the boughs and branches, doth seeme to vs a farre off to be some man or some other quicke creature: and when a Tower of a square forme doth seeme to be round: and that the highest

mountaines a farre off from vs, do seeme to be no other then dowdes, and neere at hand, to bee rough and craggie places with steepe downe-falls. G1 Besides if we should come to the very reasons of the Art Perspective; the great towers and high steeples, the stately, high, and prowde Castles, pallaces and houses, are seene better a farre off, then more at hand: And this happeneth (say the Optiques) by reason that all high buildings and colosses being a farre off, do oppose themselves equally against all the parts of the eye in a right time being neere at hand, they doe not oppose themselves -notes- G1 Reasons out of the Art Perspective, to prove the sight to be deceived.

Page 122

all parts, but to some onely. In briefe, it is most certaine according to the same Art Prospective, that the things which are seene by the greater Angle of the cie, appeare much the greater; because that by the same, we doe cast and send forth our light more lively; and those which were beheld by the lesser Angle, are lesser, and by the equall, are equall, by the high are high, and by the lowest, are low and humble. Moreover, if bodies of one and the same greatnesse, and the selfe same magnitudes be placed by spaces and distances interposed: those which shall be neerest vnto vs, will be seene to our seeming according to the very truth of them: and those which shall be farther off, will bee discerned not according to the truth, but in a true semblance. And Plato sayth, that the Painters and Carvers doe observe this; that making a plaine and broad picture, or cutting a statue or image in bosse or compassewise; if the same be for to serve neere at hand, they will make it according to the very true proportion of the members thereof, and will give it his draughts, his lineaments, his back-draughts, and his colors so proper and naturall, as may best represent it to the very truth and life of it. And if the same be to be set aloft vpon the top of some Temple, farre from the sight of men, (as was the Minerva of Phidias, vpon the Acropolis of Athens:) then will they make it very great, not regarding so much the making of it perfect, as to accommodate it to the eyes of men, who will iudge therof, net according to the truth, but according to their sight: which being vncertaine and doubtfull, doth not iudge of things being farre from it, but onely in a semblance of the truth. And Plate addeth, that such a picture and carved image, may be said a Phantosme: for that it appeareth to the eies perfect and accomplished, according to the Art of painting, and notwithstanding it is not. Wherefore even by his authoritie, it may be inferred, that the sight most commonly may be deceived, and hath not any certainty and assurance.

Besides, we doe see many things waking, which wee know not if wee have seene sleeping or waking.^{G1} But the reason heereof commeth not of the vncertaintie of the fight; but it proceedeth of this, that as soone as one hath seene a thing, he sodainly and immediately falleth asleep, or else being drawne away with some other more great and serious thought, he dreames nor thinks any more of that which was first of all presented before his eies. And I remember that I have read in a certain Booke of Belon the Phisition this historie, which he recounteth to have happened vnto himselfe: How that being in Corsa on a time he arose sodainly out of his bedde early in the morning, and hearing a certaine noyse of women weeping, he put his head out at the windowe, and sawe certayne women that ranne throughout the Towne, with their haire hanging and scattered about their shoulders, with their naked breasts laid open, crying and lamenting most bitterly: And returning vnto his bed, hee soone fell into a sleepe againe. Afterwardes, when it was full day, and being risen vp and ready apparelled, he recounted vnto his hoste that which hee thought hee had de seene, not in trueth, but (as hee was perswaded) in his sleepe. But the host assured hm of the contrary, that he had truly and indeede seene, and not in a dreame, those women in the same sorte as he had related it. And for my owne part, I can witnesse thus much: that not once, but often, I have seene those things which I could not assure my self whether I did imagine them in dreaming, or had seene them with mine eyes. Which also I thinke to be naturall to the most parte of those men, who have their spirites and minde withdrawen, eyther by earnest study, or by the weighty affaires which they have in hand: in such sorte, that things of little reckoning, and matters of small consequence which they have seene, shall be esteemed as dreames of foolish fancies conceived in their sleepe. Furthermore, when a man riseth earely, by day breake, and goeth abroade, hee shall sometimes be deceived in - notes- ^{G1}Reasons to proove that the sight is deceived by mis-taking things seene waking, as well as sleeping.

his sight.^{G1} And thus may happen, not onely to one person alone, but even to a whole army. In the Bookes of the Kings wee may reade, That the Moabites after the death of Achab their Pince did revolte and withdrawe themselves from the subiection of Ioram his sonne king of Israel, who being advertised of their Rebellion, prayed Iehosaphat King of Iuda, to give him his ayde and succors against them. The which Iehosaphat did, and ioyning

their forces together; they went against this rebellious people,
 with a purpose to reduce them to their obedience. Whereof the
 Moabites having intelligence, they slept not, but enrolling and
 mustering up all such as were fittest to bear arms, they put
 themselves in a preparation to goe against their enemies, rather
 than they would suffer them in their presence to spoyle and
 harrie all their Territories. Wherefore taking the field early in the
 morning, and approaching neere these waters, which God had
 miraculously caused newly to spring up, at the prayer of Elizeus,
 and seeing them to shewe red, by reason of the rising of the
 Sunne, which vsually rising redde, by her reverberation did give
 them that colour, they beganne to say amongst themselves: Lo, the
 kings our enemies have foughten together within
 themselves, and have made a great slaughter each of other as
 these waters doe testifie. Whereupon renning forward pell mell,
 without all order, to the intent they might have the sacking and
 pillage of the baggage and tents of the Israelites and lewes their
 enemies, they encountred them in the face well ordered and
 arraunged in battell array, and were thereupon soone defeated,
 and put to flight. By this it is to be seene how a whole campe
 thought those waters to have beene bloody: and that this
 opinion and conceipt onely did cause their ruine and overthrow.
 G2The like also may very well be, that the sight shall be abused
 at any time when the ayre shall be mistie and overcast, or
 troubled with thicke stormes and tempests, or with darke
 cloudes, full of moisture Philip of Comines -notes-
 G1Lib.vlt.Regum cap.3. G2That the sight may be deceived in
 dark and mistie close weather.

Page 125

(whom I dare match, for the truth of his historie, with all the
 Historiographers, as wel greeks as latines, be they never so
 famous) writeth, how at the same time that the brother of K.
 Lewes the 11. Charls Duke of Berry, and Chartes count of
 Charolois, and the Earle of S. Paul, with many other Princes, and
 great lords were ioyned together in a league vnder the pretence
 of the weale and common good, and had besieged Paria: they
 were advertized one day above the rest, that the King had
 determined the next morning with all his forces to give them
 battel.G1 The morrow being come, the Count Charolois and the
 Princes commaunded certaine of their troope to goe and to espie
 the countenance of their ennemies, and to bring them backe
 certaine report what they could discover of them. Those that
 were chosen to be the Avantcurreurs, did obey this their
 commaund accordingly: And the aire being at that time very
 darke and cloudy, they discovered a sarre off (at least it seemd

so vnto them) a great squadron of footemen making a stand with their pikes. But passing on further (as the heavens beganne to cleere vp, and to waxe more faire) they perceived, that in the place where they had thought the King and his men at Armes were to have beene incamped, there was nothing save onely a number of great thornes or thistles, which a farre off did shew vnto them as if they had beene pikes. Therefore, seeing that a whole troope hath beene thus deceived, by reason of the cloudy and mystie season, why should we marvell or thinke it strange, That as we travell on the way in the day time, the trees, the stones, briars and thornes, rootes and stumpes of trees do seeme vnto vs to bee phantosmes of men or some other creatures.G2 But what shall we say then to the darkenes and obscuritie of the night, wherein, both feare, and the deception, and doomesse of the sight, and the obtusion of the other senses meeting and mingled together doe cause marvellous effects of false visions, of phantosmes, and of fearefull -notes- G1Lib.1.of the actes of king Lewes the 11 G2That the fight may be deceived, by the darknesse of the night by feare and errors, and c.

Page 126

terroures? But as touching false visions which the night may engender, I reserve the speech thereof to an other place. Nevertheless they are not of such preiudice as are those Terroures, which being caused in the night by a false imagination intermingled with Feare, have made even a whole Campe to betake them to flight, and have beene the meane of their defaict and overthrow: which may be prooved by an infinite number of Histories taken cyther from Polionus, or out of Frontinus. But I will content me with this one only, which in my iudgement seemeth to be the most memorable of all others. G1 For thereby may be knowne, how that twoo mighty armies encamped as enemies each against other vpon an imagination, that some came to give a charge vpon them, did both at one time betake themselves to flight, the one flying one way, and the other an other way.G2 Dioderus the Sicilian tells how Agathocles the tyrant of Syracuse and of Sicily, being encamped in a certaine place not farre from the Campe of the Carthaginians his ennemies (against whome he helde warres and had passed the Seas, with purpose to assaile them in their owne Country.) It happned on a night, that as the Carthaginians were sacrificing to their gods; the fire, by ill fortune, tooke from the Altare (where the sacrifice was made) and lighted on their Tents next vnto it; and from that Tent passing on to an other, it held so onwardes till at length it got to the lodging of the Colonell, and that with such rage and furie, and making such waste and spoyle

throughout all the Campe, that many lost their lives being scorched and burned to death. Whilest the fire was thus furious and raging; It fortun'd that certaine Fugitives Libians (who served Agathocles rather by constraint than for love, because he had put to death their capitaine Opheltes) leaving his campe with an intent to runne over to the Carthaginians, came thither in great haste, riding poste vpon the spurre as fast as they could gallop. The Sentinell of the Carthaginians having discovered them, gave a hot alarum -notes- G1In their books of Stratagems G2Lib.20.Bibliothe.

Page 127

to the whole Camp, who thinking that it had bin Agathecles, and that he had assembled all his Greeke forces to assaile and breake in vpon them, whilst they were in this terror: The imagination thereof, (besides the misfortune of the fire not yet quencht) made them leave their tents: and abandoning both their baggage and all their engines for the warre, they fell immediately into a plaine flight, with such a confusion, that they were scattered on all sides, hither and thither, each man making away for his owne safety. The Libians perceiving by the brightness of the fire in their tents, the disorder and flight of the enemye, turned bridle and returned towards the Greekes, to advertise them of this accident. They seeing them to come thus galloping in great haste, were presently perswaded that they were the Carthaginians, which came thus by night to give them the Canvazado: And for that they had not long before received certaine losses in the warre, and their forces had beene much weakned, it caused them, without any further stay, to fall on flying: and as they fled, the Libians fell in amongst them: By meanes whereof, their feare so encreased, that forcing themselves in their flight, as fast as their horses could carry them, they lost in this tumult more then foure thousand of their people that were slaine amongst themselves. Thus we see what effects are wrought by the false imaginations of the sight, not corrupted, but onely deceived and dimmed by the darkenesse of the night: in the which, it is impossible for vs to discerne exactly the colours and qualities of things: and therefore it is very easie for vs to be seduced as having lost our proper and naturall functions. Now the Phirrbonians go yet farther and say; that not onely in the night a man may be deceived in the colours of things, but in the day likewise: and that therefore by that reason, the sight in every thing and on all sides is vncertain.G1 And as it is most sure, that a man cannot iudge of substances, but by the colours, and that the colours -notes- G1That the sight may be deceived in the day even of it self, and in it own nature.

are not permanent in things, but are variable and changeable according to the light. So it followeth by consequence, that the sight which would iudge of them, doth in very truth deceive and abuse it selfe. And first of all the colours may varie themselves, according to the voluntarie motion and scituation of the sight; as if I cast downe mine eyes vpon a candle, it will seeme vnto mee, that I see many beames comming from the candle, the which according to the motion of the sight, doe change and turne themselves: and if I do hold my eyes wide open, I shall thinke it strange how those beames do retyre away and disappeare from my sight. And this may suffice for an example as touching the eyes, that they doe wittingly as it were deceive themselves. In a thicke and obscure ayre, all things do appeare darke and obscure; in a greene meadow all things seeme greene; and neere vnto a scarlet, of a quicke and lively colour, all things do shew to be red of colour. G1 The bodies of any creatures being in a wood, doth seeme to be of another sort, then they do being in the open and plaine champaigne. The Sunne being in the East, and in the West, is different from that which is seene being in the South, and the clowdes (which are concrete and bred of moisture) at the rising and setting of the Sunne, do shew red vnto our eyes, and we do oftentimes see a great part of the heavens to be of a red and fiery colour. The colours of the Raine-bow likewise are false, as are those of the Peacocke and of the Dove, which we see about their neckes when they moove and stirre themselves: And that the colours of the Dove, are not naturall in her, but do appeare to bee such onely by the agitation and stirring of her body; the verse of the Emperour Nero may witnesse the same, which saieth; Colla Citheriacæ splendent agitata Columbæ. By the same reason also we may say, that the colours which passe through a glasse full of water set against the Sunne, are not true colours, and that the sight is deceived - notes- G1 That the sight may be deceived by accident.

in them. G1 And how many things may a man forme by the Art Optique, with Mirrors, or Steele-glasses, either compast, hollow, or plaine: and make them to represent faces and figures, quite in an other forme than the Mirror doth receive them? I will not here speake touching such Mirrours. To discusse, whether the Figures of our bodies be sent into them, as seperated from our bodies, or rather, whether it be a certaine repercussion of our bodies, yeelding a reflexion to our selves. G2 I wil leave this to be disputed by Seneca, who hath at large entreated of that matter.

But this is certaine, that there be some glasses which will represent seaven or eight faces, of which some will seeme dead, and others will shew as if they were going out of the glasse, not without great woonder.^{G3} And I am not ignorant, that there may be alleadged many other mervailles that are to be seene by such mirrors. For besides that, they will represent (as I have said) to one onely object, many faces; some of a dead man, others of a person seeming to go out of the glasse: a man may also make them with such Art and cunning, that one would thinke he saw in them, images flying in the ayre. And this doth Cardan put amongst his experiments, speaking of Artificiall Specters: And what? ^{G4} That glasse or mirror which hath many squares, cannot it varie and change the formes by the same reason of the Art Optique, according to the diversitie of the squares which it shall have? Sometimes a man shall see therein, a face reversed or turned vp-side downe, especially if it be a hollow glasse: sometimes two figures, the one created by the refraction of the thing opposite; the other by the figure it selfe, by meanes of the Angle, which in the extreame or outmost parts thereof, being neere vnto it, on that part of the glasse and mirror which is plaine, receiveth the figure of the figure naturall. Sometimes the same mirror shall represent but a halfe or demy face, if a man oppose his face to the end of the Angle, which being (as it were) curbed and straightned, cannot receive all the face. And -notes-
^{G1} That the sight may be deceived by artificiall meanes of mirrours and lookingglasses ^{G2} Lib.1. Naturallum question. ca.5.de sequen. ^{G3} Of the sundry sorts of mirrors, and how the sight is deceived by them. ^{G4} In Libr.de Subtilitate

Page 130

it is not (as were the Tables of Moises) in the which (after they were broken) a man might see the one halfe of the letter Samecb, in the extremitie or vtmost part of the edge of the margent, and the other halfe might have beene seene in the ayre. Those mirrors which are long and straight, doe make the face straight and round, and those which be long, in a round forme, do shew the face long. To make short, those which have little round markes in them like bubbles, will shew as many faces, as there bee rundles in them, and for one man, will represent a troope of persons, and (as it were) a number of people. Moreover, a man may besides these, make other mirrors, by the which, (not without great admiration) a man may discover any thing a farre off, and in the which a man may represent sundry figures, beyond their naturall forme. ^{G1} Hostius, (as Seneca reporteth) had certaine looking-glasses which shewed the figure of any thing farre greater then the same

received it. This man was so wanton and voluptuous, that he placed such glasses in his chamber, to the intent he might delight himself with a false greatnes of his secret parts, a thing not to be written without horreur. But can I let passe, without wrong vnto my selfe that glasse, which being set against the Sunne, did burne and set on fire, all things that were presented vnto it of a drie and combustibile nature, the which Aristophanes called [Greek omitted]? G2 Or should I omit in silence, those mirrors or glasses which Archemedis invented, and by meanes whereof, he burnt the shippes of the enemies, as Plutarch reporteth?G3 And what shall I say besides, touching other stones that are as splendant and shine as bright as glasse? That stone which by the Greeks is calld Phengites, and by the Latines Specularis, and which the French call Talc, is naturally so bright-shining, that the verie glasse doth not give that reverberation by the cleerenes thereof, as it doth. And that made Nero, when he builded the temple to the goddesse Fortune, to cause the same - notes- G1Lib.1.Natur. quest.cap.16. G2In Nubibus. G3In Marc ello.

Page 131

to be paved with this stone: the which did yee|de such areverberation round about the Temple, (as Plinie writeth) that a man might have seene it to shine and glister as if it had had many windowes, and as if the cleerenes of the light had beene inclosed and shut vp within the walls thereof, notwithstanding that the day light never pierced into it. G1 A certaine Author writeth, that the Poet Horace was so lascivious and luxurious, that he caused this stone of Talc, to be placed in his chamber, to the intent it might represent vnto him his strumpets in the very action of dishonesty.G2 But this was not a thing peculiar vnto Horace alone, but it was common vnto him, with many Emperours that did the like. And in truth this Poet was worthie to be the friend and favorite of Mecenas, who was not onely defamed to be wanton and effeminat in his speech, in his habite, and in his going, but was a man of most corrupt manners, and extreemly addicted to lust and licensiousnes, in such sort, that by the excessive ryot of his youth, he became in his later yeares, to be full of maladies and diseases, in so much, as he could not sleepe nor take his rest scarce a moment of an houre. But to returne to our purpose, it is well knowne, that ordinarily the spectacles or sight-glasses, do make letters to seeme more great then they are indeede. G3 And those things which a man beholdeth within the water, doe seeme also farre bigger then they be by nature: And let any letters be never so small and little, yet are they verie easie to be read through a viall filled

with water. Apples also. if they swimme within a glasse, do seeme much fairer then they are. The starres likewise are farre greater to the sight, if a man behold them through a clowde: And the like is to be seene of the Sunne also. If a man cast a ring into a cup or bole, though the ring be in the bottome, yet will it appeare as if it were in the superficies and top of the water. The sea seemeth to be of an Azure colour, and notwithstanding it hath not any color certaine. In a bright and cleere ayre, by an artificiall fire, are to be seen -notes- G1Lib.36.cap.22. natural.histor. G2In vita Horatii. G3Howe the sight is deceived by many particular obiects.

Page 132

many colours and many figures which are false, by reason of the varietie of the matter of the fire. And sometimes a man would even sweare that those that are sitting at a table together, should be without heades, or should seeme to be dead men; or shoulde have the heades of some other creatures. And the chamber where men are supping together, will sometimes seeme to be full of serpents: and there will seeme a Vine to spread and scatter abroad her boughes and braunches; though indeed it be a meere illusion. There be some men who in this our age have stuffed their Bookes with such devises, as amongst others Cardan and Baptista de la Porta a Neapolitane.G1 And there is not so much as Saint Thomas of Aquine but hath written of an hearb, the which being set on fire will make the rafters or beames of the chamber seeme to be Serpents. What should I say more? The cloudes sometimes will seeme to be Monsters, Lions, Bulls and Woolves painted and figured: albeit in truth the same be nothing but a moyst humour mounted in the ayre, and drawne vp from the earth, not having any figure or colour, but such as the ayre is able to give vnto it. The which is subiect to a thousand impressions and changes. Now after that wee have so largely discoursed of the sight, if we should come to the other senses; by what meanes can we better argue their vncertainty according to the opinion of the Sceptiques, than to shew the difference that they have together? G2 which is in such manner, that they doe not in any sorte accord and agree: neither have they any Sympatby, any colligence, or any proportion one to another.G3 And first of all, if we will compare the senses of Smeiling, the Touching, and the Taste, with that of the Sight, what better example can we have than the Apple, the which in sight will be pale, and yet in taste wil be sweete, in handling will be light, and in smel will be of a good and pleasant odour? Heereby then it is manifest, that the senses are not of any good accorde together -notes- G1De subtilitat. Imagin. natura. Tho.

Aquin. 1. parte q.11.4. art.4. G2Of the vncertainty of the other senses, and of the difference and discord of the (02) together. G3Of the difference and discord betwixt the other senses and that of the sight.

Page 133

amongst themselves. And besides, what can better demonstrate this, than the colours whereof wee have earst spoken? the which as they are vnknowne to the sight, so doe they ingender a great discord amongst the senses. If a man should say, that every thing which is white in colour dooth proceede of a hote qualitie, the contrary will appeere evidently by the Snow, and by the Yce. And if a man would say, it were long of a colde qualitie; The Asbes, the Lime, and the Plaister doe sufficiently shew that hee were deceived. The like may a man affirme of other colours, aswell blacke, as those that participate both of white and blacke. And how often is it seene that the Physitians are deceived in iudging of the temperature of their Simples, by the sight onelie, and not by the other senses? I have seene a Practitioner in Physicke at Paris, who did bragge in the open Parliament (in the hearing of my selfe, and an infinite number of people that can testifie the same likewise) That by the simple sight alone he would knowe all the qualities, and temperatures of hearbes that any should shew vnto him: yea though they were come from America, and such as the vertues of them were scarce yet knowne of Physitians. But this Paracelsian was reiected and confuted with his Paracelsus, and his ignorance was sufficiently discovered by such as had commission to question with him. But what is the cause, That being in a hote Bath wee doe thinke that our vrine is colde? Is it not bicause our Touching or Feeling is vncertaine, and doth not well accord and agree with the other senses. In the winter, by reason that we are colde, all other externall things doe seeme vnto vs to, be hote by the same reason that we alleadged before of the Bath. And to come from the difference of the Feeling to that which the Hearing hath with the Sight: Is it not most certaine, that the Eye seeth sooner than the Hearing can vnderstand or discerne a thing?G1 The experience of this may be seene in the lightning: the brightnesse, and shining -notes- G1Of the difference and discord of the senses of hearing and the sight.

Page 134

whereof is seene sooner than we can heare the thunder. And sometimes the Hearing will iudge that it hath heard two blowes given at the striking of a thing which it hath seene to strike no more than once. And heereof a man may have the experience,

by that which wee see daily to happen, as namely, when one striketh or beateth with a rammer or beetle any great stroke vpon the water side, or neere vnto some river: For one blow that shall be seene to be given, a man shall heare twoo, yea sometimes three strokes afarre off. Which commeth of nothing else than of the resounding of the Eccho, which maketh the sound of the rammer or beetle to resounde vpon the river, the same being carried through the ayre, and redoubling it selfe to the cares of him that shall heare it.^{G1} And Averrois citeth also another example of Laundresses, who washing their linnen at the rivers side, doe make their strokes to be heard redoubled two or three times, howbeit that the sight dooth perceive the stroke sooner than the hearing can discerne or vnderstand it: More than so, is not the hearing notably deceived, be it never so sound and whole? Is it not an ordinary thing, That in hollow places a man may heare a small gentle sound issuing foorth of some hole or chinke, which wee would take to be a kinde of Musicke, though indeede it be nothing else but a softe whistling winde that bloweth? And in those bankes of rivers, which are indifferently or but meanely crooked, is to be perceived the like sound and harmony as the naturall Philosophers do affirme. And it is a thing most assured, that a man may falsly heare a certaine noyse and shaking of the walles, the windows, and the roofes of houses, which notwithstanding is but a signe of some storme or tempest at hand, as of haile, or of thunder. Our hearing will be deceived also when we thinke that wee heare thunder, and notwithstanding it is but some Coach or Charriot that passeth by the streetes. Now, after that the Sceptiques have sufficiently (to

-notes- ^{G1}In Colliget.li.1. That the sense of hearing, be it never so sound will be doceived.

Page 135

their thinking) proved that the senses are false and easie to be deceived: they come afterwards to inserte that the Intellect, and the Imaginative power can comprehend nothing in certainty. ^{G1} For if it be so, that all things, which may be saide to have essence, doe never enter into the Intellect, or into the imagination, but by the senses which are their Organ: and that the senses are faultie. Then it must needes followe with good reason, that the Intellect and the Imagination doe faile and are deceived, so that in trueth all things are [Greek omitted], that is, They have not any certainty, or true essence of themselves, but they doe referre themselves to the senses, which doe deceive and delude themselves. After this the Sceptiques doe come also to the signes of things; the which they maintaine to be neither sensible, nor intelligible: and by consequence, that they are none

at all, as not being able to appeare either sensibly, or in the vnderstanding.G2 And thus doe they take away the causes, and the definitions of things, and generally all kinde of learning and discipline, as that famous learned man Frances Picus de Mirandola hath notably and at large discovered, who doth as lively and learnedly confute the Sceptiques, as before him Iohn Picus his vncle had confuted the Iudiciall Astrologers. But I will now content my selfe, in a worde, to answer to the followers of Pirrhon: letting them to know, that all their Inductions which they bring in and alleadge, and all their Arguments heaped vp with such a multitude of examples, are not of any strength or validitie to prove the vncertainty of the senses, and especially of the sight: The which that grand workemaister hath placed in the head, to the intent the same might discover all things afarre off, as a Pharos, or Lanterne set aloft vpon a Tower.G3 Besides, the Eye is of a round and Sphericall figure, to the intent (as the Mathematitians affirme) it may be capable to receive by the sight, the quantitie and magnitude of things: For if the ball or apple of the eie, -notes- G1The reason of the Sceptikes, that the intellect and the imagination are deceived. G2In lib.Exam. doctr.Gentil. G3An answer to all the former Inductions and examples alleaged by the Sceptiques.

Page 136

(by which the fight is turned) were not round, it could not cause it to discerne or to perceive any thing but that which should be equall vnto it: which appeareth in this, That the sight dooth perfect it selfe by right lines which doe concurre, (as it were) in a heape to the contre of the eye, and doe there make their impression perpendicularly.G1 So that the Eye is certaine without being deceived as touching the beholding of the quantities of things next vnto it: and if it be sometimes deceived in the qualities of things: yet dooth it not thereof followe, that the Intellect or Vnderstanding facultie in man which receiveth them, should therefore be deceived. For, albeit the sense do see a cloth or garment to be greene, by reason of some greene meadowe that dooth scatter or display it verdure vpon it: yet so is it, that the Intellect and Vnderstanding of a man in it selfe will alwaies take the garment to be according as it is indeede, and will never be deceived. And as concerning the senses of Feeling, Smelling, Tasting and Hearing: A man may say also to the Sceptiques, That they are not altered nor chaunged by maladies or sicknesse; or that by any other accident they are not easie to be seduced: and namely and especially the Touching: the which being dispersed, and (as it were) spread abroad throughout all the members, is esteemed to be more certaine than the sight.

But as concerning the senses depraved and corrupted, we shall entreate heereafter. And therefore wee will first of all proceede in holding on our purpose, as concerning the senses: how they being sound and entire, may neverthelesse be deceived: and we will discourse of such things as (being either naturall or artificiall) yet for their strangenesse are esteemed prodigious, and approaching neere to the nature of Specters: and both the Sight and the Hearing at the first view doth receive them as things supernaturall; by reason that they are ignorant of the causes of them. And first of all wee will speake of such things as are Naturall. -notes- G1The sight is certaine in be holding the quantities of things, though it may be som times deceived in qualities.

Chapter 7

Page 137

CHAP. VII. That many things being meereley Naturall are taken by the Sight or Hearing being deceived, for Specters and things prodigious. It is a thing most certaine and assured, and it hath oftentimes happened, That many naturall things (because they be alittle beyond naturall reason) doe put vs in so great a feare and terrour, as if we had seene before vs some Spirits or Phantosmes. G1 And especially, if feare or superstition be added therevnto, and that withall they happen in the darkenesse of the night: It is then a most cleere case, that they doe worke and produce woonderfull effects in the senses, and in the minde of man. G2 Plinie reciteth, that alittle above the countrey of Zeland, there are certaine forrests full of huge, great, and high Oakes, the which being rooted vp by the tempestuousnesse of windes, or stormes, or by the waves and billowes of the sea, doe carry with their rootes a great masse of earth which dooth counterpoise them in such sorte, as a man shall see those great oakes to swimme vppe and downe the sea, with their huge boughes and braunches. Certainly, if they should be seene in that manner in the night time, and that therewithall any feare or superstition did surprise men vpon the sight of them: It is not to be doubted, but they would be thought to be divells and ill spirites. Now if the feare alone of seeing such thinges have caused the fantasie of those that have sailed on that coast, so farre to erre, as they have imagined them to be armies by sea. And if the Romans themselves when -notes- G1Of naturall earthly things that seeme prodigious Phantosmes and Specters by which the sight is deceived. G2Lib. 16.cap.1.

Page 138

they sawe (as Plinie writeth) these trees to come directly vpon them, have prepared themselves to battell, and have set in a readmesse all their warrelike engines, and disposed their fights and their grapples, supposing that the same had beene their enemies: What shall wee then thinke of such as should have been superstitiously affected in seeing them? Would not they (trowe you) have bin terrified beyond all comparison, when they should imagine them to be, not enemies, but even Diuelles let loose?G1 So likewise, if they should see the Lakes of Cecubo, and of Reate, and that same (wherof Plinie the yonger maketh so much adoe in his Epistles, calling it Lacus Vadimonis,) and which the Italians at this day name the Lake of Bassanello: what would they thinke or imagine of it? These lakes have many Islands that sloate and moove vp and downe with the winde, no otherwise than as a ship tossed too and fro by the waves and surges of the sea: And the same Plinie dooth so farre aduance this lake of Bassanello, as hee dareth to compare it with all the myracles of Achaia, Ægipt, or Asia, that have beene so famously reported and spread abroad of them in all partes of the world.G2 And the trueth is, That Pliny the elder, Seneca, Aristotle, and Titus Livius, do make notable reportes of this Lake, as being such, wherein a thing so marvellous in nature dooth happen vsually and commonly. Neverthelesse, they which should see those Isles thus to moove in this manner, not knowing before that the same were naturall: they would entertaine many and diverse apprehensions in their fantasie, and would imagine that they sawe a thing very strange and prodigious, and such as did very neere approach to the nature of some Specter and vision. G3 But what shall we say to those Sights and fierie Flames, which appearing in the night, do seeme to wander from place to place? A man cannot better compare these fiers, then to Torches which young men vse in Maskes, to carry by night in diuers troopes and companies, in the -notes- G1Lib.8.epift.10 G2Lib.2.Natur. hist.cap.95. Lib.3.Nat.qu. Lib. natural. auscult. Lib.9.Decad. 1 G3Of naturall fiory Ilands that seeme prodigious Phantosmes and Specters by which the sight is deceived.

Page 139

time of their Shroving or Carnevall feasts. For as a man shall sometimes see their lights ioyned all together, and sometimes seperated and devided farre asunder, according as they doe either conioyne or separte themselves in sundry bands: so is it with these lights and fierie flames appearing by night: that sometimes they will seeme to gather together in a heape, and make shew as if there were but one bright shining light: and sodainely againe, they will be dispersed and devided asunder

each from other, making divers and sundry lights, and as if they were vanishing away in severall fiers, beginning to grow dimme more and more and lesse lightsome. G1 These fierie flames (as I have said) so wandring and running vp and downe, are not without a certaine feare and terror vnto passengers: howbeit a man may assigne vnto them a naturall cause why they be so. For the naturall Philosophers do hold, that from the earth there doe proceede certaine thicke and grosse exhalations, the which are soone and easily kindled and set on fire. That matter which is of a sulphurious and hote nature, and lyeth hidden in the veines and secret corners of the earth: if alittle ayre do pierce thorough and come neere vnto it, on a suddaine it commeth to be set on fire, seeking meanes to issue out, and to breake forth of the earth. And doe we not see in certaine places of some countries, that the fire doth arise and issue forth of the earth in exceeding height, like vnto a great tree, and as suddainely againe, to be extinct and consumed? But this is naturall, and ought to bee referred vnto the Gummie and fatte matter, which being fired, doth issue out of the veines of the earth, seeking to evaporate it selfe in some one place or other. In those places where there is store of Sulphre or Brimstone (which is a kind of hot matter in the nature of mettall:) The reason that the fire doth not so soone die and extinguish it selfe, is, because it hath a nourishment that doth hold on and indure with a longer continuance, Those that sayle by the coasts of Sicely and of -notes- G1Of the cause of fiery flames appearing from th'earth in the night time.

Page 140

Malta, can report yet at this day, how that the Isle Abrocan, (which doth a farre off discover it selfe to the Saylers) is continually in a fire and smoake. G1 And histories are full every where, that in times past, the Hill Mongibel did burne night and day. G2 And Pindarus affirmeth, that by night the fire of this mountaine was very cleere and bright shining, and in the day, was clowdie and dimme, as is also at this day, the Isle Abrocan. The mountaine Vesuvius, not farre distant from Naples, in the time of Titus Vespasian, did cast vp fire and flames in such abundance, that all the countrie and the inhabitants round about were destroyed by it, their Townes and Villages being left desolate and burned, and those fields that were from thence somewhat farther off, were all covered and filled with dust and ashes. And this is testified by Saint Ierome, Plinie the younger, and Dion the Historiographer. And it is not vnknowne, how that Plinie the second, being desirous to vnderstand and to search out the cause of the burning of this mountaine, as he approached neere vnto it, being by nature fat and corpulent, he was

suddainely smothered, or (as I rather beleeeve) hee fell into an Apoplexye, to the which grosse and fat men most commonly are subiect, especially when they vse not any exercise as Plinie did not, being a man wholie addicted to studie and learning.G3 And to returne to those two mountaines, it is very certaine that even of late, in the time of our fathers, they did still continue burning; and especially Mongibel, the which occasioned and wrought infinite domages to the lands neere adioyning vnto it. For the report is, that the fire of Mongibel did range and spread it selfe so farre, that the greatest part of Calabria was filled with the dust of the ashes and cinders thereof; and two Villages, Montpilero and Licolosi, were quite burned and consumed. G4 And not these mountaines alone are onely subiect to fire and continuall burning: but Olans the Great writeth, that in Iseland there is a mountaine which burneth continually, the fire and flame whereof, -notes- G1Of divers hils that burne with fire. G2Od.1.Olimp. G3Mongibel did burne in the yeare 1537. G4Of the cause that the mountaines doe burne.

Page 141

of, doth never faile no more then that of Mongibel, in the time of Plinie; who writeth, that the flame thereof did never cease.G1 The canse of these fiers, doth Aristotle well set downe, and that in few words in his bookes of Meteors.G2 For as there be many places of the earth, that have store of matter combustible, there needeth no more but a trembling and shaking of the earth; which being stirred vp by an ayre, that hath entred in by some chinks and empty poares of the earth, and striving to issue forth, doth in an instant and at once, moove and shake the mountaine; and so by the stirring and agitation thereof, doth set it on a fire; the which doth subtilly evaporate it selfe, and taketh it nourishment of the ayre so mooved and stirred. And like as after great store of windes, it often happeneth that a trembling or quaking of the earth doth succede: so, after a long trembling and mooving of the earth, it must needs happen that these mountains must of necessity fall on burning. Now if it be so, that the mountaines for the reasons before alleadged, may cast and vomite vp flames of fire, why should there be any difficultie, but that those other fierie flames appearing in the night, should by the same meane, be evaporated out of the earth?G3 Certaine it is, that Aristotle writeth, how in some places the earth in the concavities thereof, is no lesse replenished with fiers and with windes, then it is with water. And therefore as there are springs of water hidden in the earth, which may even suddainly and at once, spring vp and cast forth water in abundance out of the earth: so it is not to be doubted, but that the fiers, which have

beene long hidden in the caverns and hollow places vnder the ground, may sometimes issue forth: and having found a cleere and free passage, may leape vp and downe and walke at some times through the region of the ayre, neither more nor lesse then doth the fire of Mongibel, of Vesuvius, and of Iseland: Which casting vp through the ayre, great globes of fire flaming, And mounting to the beavens, do shine most eleerely blazing.G4 - notes- G1Lib.2.nat. hist. G2Lib.2. Meteor. G3Lib. de Mends. G4Lib. Æneid.

Page 142

G1That I may speake as doth the Poet Vergil, who being profoundly seene and exercised both in Philosophie and in all kinde of learning, was not ignorant, that these fiers were of such a nature, as being cast out of the caverns of the earth, they be carried for a time through the ayre, and yet some of them more forcibly and violently then the other.G2 For those fiers which are stirred vp within the mountaines, as they have more spirits that do animate and give life vnto them: (if I may so speake) so doe they issue forth more suddainely, and wander lesse in the ayre, then do those night-flames that do strike vp gently from the earth. But (will some say) we see that these night-fiers do oftentimes deceive men, and will leade them to some river, pond, or other water, where they doe cause them sometimes to be drowned. G3 To this I answer; that they which follow such night-fiers appearing vnto them, either they do it voluntarie, or by constraint: If by constraint, then without doubt they are no night-fiers which they do so follow after; but they are some divells, or ill spirits metamorphosed into the formes of fiers. But if they doe willingly and voluntarilie follow them, they cannot excuse themselves of follie and of ignorance: for it is the nature of such fiers, continually to seeke after water, being their contrarie element. And this is evident by those flames of Mongibel, which do draw themselves rather towards the sea, then any other place, as testifieth Pindarus in these words, [Greek omitted]: that is to say, That the flame of Mongibel, is carried roling and tumbling even into the maine and deepe sea.G4 And in that this Poet affirmeth, that the flame roleth and so is carried to the sea. This may leade vs as it were by the hand, to know the nature of those night-fiers, which (as they that have seene them do say) are round, and doe go roling continually till they come neere some river or pond, in the which they do suddainely disapppeare and vanish away. -notes- G1Lib.3. Æneid. G2The diffrence betweene the fiers appearing in the night, and those of mountayns continually burning. G3How men

are deceived and led to drowne themselves by night-flames appearing vnto them. G4Od.1.Olimp.

Page 143

But before I leave this discourse of these night-fiers, I will speake of that which the common opinion holdeth touching them and that is, how that sometimes they do appeare vnmoveable, neere vnto gallowses and such like places of execution. G1 If this be true, (as we must needes give credite therevnto, seeing so many persons do with one consent report it) we may yeeld yet a farther naturall cause of such Night-flames; and that is, that they are bred and concreated of the fat and drie exhalation of the bodies there hanged, which comming to evaporate and strike vp into the ayre, doth grow to be enflamed by the same reason, as the vapors and exhalations dried from the earth, and being in the middle region of the ayre, do change themselves into fire, and so doe cause the thunder. But to continue on our purpose touching naturall fiers, do we not see (and that without mervailing) that the tops of trees bluftring or beating one against another, do strike out flames of fire, and that not without feare vnto such as travell by night? G2 Certaine it is, that Thucidides doth esteeme this to be naturall; [Greek omitted] (faith he) [Greek omitted]. And Lucretius speaketh thereof, as of a thing which happeneth vsually, and is done by the same reason: as two stones stricken together each against other, do cause fire, and as two tables of Laurell or any other hard wood, being rubbed together for a long time one against the other, will likewise strike out sparckles of fire. G3 Homer writeth, that Mercurie was the first that taught this vsage of making fire to come fourth by the striking together of two staves or stickes of Laurell wood. And truely it is not vnlike, that he learned it by seeing how the woodes by beating each against other through the continuall motion and agitation of the windes, do sparkle out from them flames of fire. Againe, be there not also some pretious stones, as the Carmaline, the Rubie, the Carbuncle, the Carchedonis, or the -notes- G1Of Night-fires seene and fiequenting about gallows, and the cause thereof. G2Of flames of fire issuing out of trees and other things, beating one against another. G3In himus Mercurii.

Page 144

Garnet, and other such like pretious stones, that do shine in the night like fire. G1 In Sootland there is a kinde of rotten wood, which in the night shineth verie cleere and bright: and the like doe woods that are worme eaten. There be some creatures, as Woolves and Cats, which have their eyes so fier ie and flaming in the night, that they will make even the most harche to be

afraide. I have heard of Monsieur de Launay Gualter, a Councillor in the Court of Parliament of Brutaine, that neere vnto one of his manours, he had a countrie house or farme, within the which, there haunted a Cat so terrible and frightfull, that such as saw her by night, did fall in a swoond for very feare: and some would have bin of opinion, that it was some Sorcerer metamorphosed, or some wicked spirit: if the said Lord of Launay (being a gentleman of good spirit, and one that could not be made beleeeve that it was any other then a natural Cat) had not found the meane to cause the same Cat to be taken by a ginnel and being so slaine, it was then apparant that the feate conceived thereof, was but meerely vaine and without cause. There bee certaine wormes that vse to appeare in Autumne, which the Greekes call [Greek omitted], and the Latines Cicindelus; which do shine so cleerely in the night, that those which know not that there bee such creatures, would be verie doubtfull what to thinke, if they should happen to see them. But these wormes are nothing to speake of, in comparison of that little Flie which is bred in the new world, within the Island of Hispaniola, appertaining to the Spaniards. This creature is of the bignes of a Beetle or Horse-flie, and theywhich have seene of them, doe esteeme it to be indeede a kinde of Horse-flie. But vpon the matter, it doth shine by night verie cleerely in all partes of her bodie, but principally in the eyes; the which in regard of the smalnesse of her bodie, are verie exceeding great: and those her eyes are so bright-shining, that a man may write and reade by their light. The report is, that the Indians do banquet in the night -notes- G1Of stones and other things shining like flames of fire in the night.

Page 145

time by the light thereof as a thing so strange and admirable, that if the Spanish Historiographers did not report the same with one generall consent, a man would scarcely credite it. But to come from fierie things, to other naturall vapors that come from the earth: it is verie certaine that the ayre doth sometimes create those of vapors forms so mervailous, that any man would take them for Prodigies or Specters.G1 When Silla entred into Italie with his armed forces, there were seene two clowdes or vapors having the forme of.G2 Goates fighting one against another, neere vnto the Mount Epbeum in Campania, the which afterwards mounting aloft from the earth, did spread and scatter themselves into divers partes, and in the end vanished quite away, not without the great wonder and astonishment of Silla and all his Armie.G3 And yet Plutarch faith, that this was but a thing meerely naturall: because that after it became to be

scattered abroade in the ayre, it presently lost that imaginarie forme which it before represented.^{G4} And what shall we say to those vapors which do naturally happen in the desarts of Libia, neere vnto one of those great Sands of Barbaric, called Syrtis Magna: Those vapors doe make an impression in the ayre of sundry bodies and formes of many creatures, which sometimes will seeme not to stirre a foote from the place where they are: and sometimes againe, will moove themselves verie strangely, as if they were either flying from, or pursuing of some persons. ^{G5} Diodoras Sienlus saith; that these impressions of formes are of an infinite greatnesse, and extending in great length, and that they doe bring great feare and perturbation of minde, to such as are not used to the sight of them. For they pursue men (saith he) and after that they have gotten to them, they doo disperse themselves over all their bodies in an extreame colde, which is the cause that Marchants, strangers; passing by that coast, are in great feare of those, whereas on the contrarie, the inhabitants of that Country -notes- ^{G1}Of naturall ayrie things and vapors that seeme Phantosmes, or Spectere, and deceive the sight. ^{G2}Of a strange clowde or vapor appearing to Silla and the Romans. ^{G3}In vita Sidæ. ^{G4}Of strange vapors vsuall in Barbaric and their causes. ^{G5}Lib.3.Biblioth.

Page 146

(who doe often see such things) doe make small accompt, or do rather laugh at them. Some have studied to render a reson of this so strange a matvell, though it have seemed to be helde almost in manner as a fable. And they say, That in this Region there are stirring few or no windes at all, or if there be any, that they be very weake and warme: and that the ayre there is very calme and quiet, because there are no woodes nor shady vallies round about, nor any hills distant and seperated one from another, nor yet any Rivers great or small, wherewith the plaine should be watered and refreshed: nor any fertile landes nor exhalations nor odours, from all which the windes do take their beginning and originall. So that this whole Countrey being round about on all sides very hote and warme: It happeneth (like as wee see it fall out in the hote summer dayes, when the warme south winde most raigneth,) That in every place there are bredde and created little cloudes, which doe take diverse formes, according to the different Impressions the fire receiveth. And these cloudes being carried by those slowe and weake warme winds do sometimes mount aloft, and sometimes leap vp and downe, and sometimes do move themselves by other such like motions and agitations. When they are not born vp by any wind, they do stay neere to the earth, thicke, and formed as they were

aloft: And having nothing that is able to scatter and dissolve them, They doe of themselves approach and drawe nie to such persons as they first happen to encounter. Not that I inferre hereby, That the ayre hath any election of motion in it selfe: for that is impossible in nature; That any thing without a foule shoulde voluntarily, and of it selfe, bee driven to moove it selfe: or that it should either pursue or shunne it selfe; but it is rather the persons that doe cause the same to moove. And so is it of those clowdes formed in the ayre, which doe make a shew and countenance as if they did follow or give place to these persons that doe

Page 147

come against them, who doe scatter and chase them on all sides with the violence and motion of their bodies. And on the contrary, they doe pursue such as recule and goe from them: And by conversion of the cause, it hapneth, that beeing drawne by the raritie and vacuitie of the precedent motion: They doe seeme to runne after such as go from them, who staying or returning are incontinently abashed: when they see themselves touched with the same, and that these clouds (before they light or fall vpon the ground,) do spread themselves very cold over all their bodies. But to leave these airie vapours, and to go alittle higher, even to the body of the Moone: what shall wee say to the superstition of the antient Romans, who were so abashed and astonished at the eclipse thereof; That wee reade howe sometimes an whole armie was stricken into feare and amazement by the sight of the same: insomuch as they vsed to call and ring her with the sound of a bason, vntill such time as she were returned to her former shape and forme, as witnesseth Plutarch, Cornelius Tacitus, and Ovid. G1 And the same Tacitus recounteth, That in the beginning of the raigne of Tiberius, certaine garrisons of Roman Souldiers vppon the Frontires of Germanie, being revolted; The thing that did most terrifie and astonish them, and reduced them to their former duty and obedience, was an eclipse of the moone, which put them in a fansie and conceipt, that the gods were angry and displeased with them for that their enterprise.G2 And yet neverthesse, the cause of the Moones eclipse is knowne to be meerely naturall, without anie prodigiousnes at all in it. For it is most certaine, That the shadowe of the earth being opposed against the moone makes the eclipse thereof, like as the moone being opposed against the funne, dooth make the eclipse of the funne. It is not therefore to be thought any strange matter, if at this day there be many men that take all things vnknowne vnto them, to be Specters and Prodigies, -notes- G1Of the Eclipses of the Sun and

the Moone and the causes thereof. G2In' vita parili Amily. In lib.
1. Amia.

Page 148

and if they be afraide of them, without any iust occasion. G1 But what will such men say, if they should saile on the seas, where the woonderfull woorkes of God (as David saith) are more common and manifest than on the earth; They would imagin themselves to be in another world, and to heare and see other things than they are accustomed to doe in the earth.G2 Sometimes they shall see the fire (which the Saylers call Saint Hermes,) to flie vppon their shippe, and to alight vppon the toppe of the mast; And sometimes they shall perceiue a winde that stirreth vp such stormes, as will runne round about their shippe, and play about it in such sorte, as by the hurling and beating of the clowdes will raise vppe a fire that will burne vppe the yardes, the sayles, and the tacklings of the shippe: And of these windes Saint Luke speaketh in the Actes of the Apostles: Sometimes the billowes of the sea will raise them even to the clowdes, and in a moment cast them downe againe to the botome of the sea: sometimes they shall heare the roaring of the waves beating against the rockes, the banckes, and the cliffes vpon the sea shoare; so as they shall be heard farre off, not without great feare and astonishment: as is to be seene by Charibdis and Silla, on the coast of Sicily: and by that great and terrible noyse of the sea-waves, which beates on a rocke lying in the sea a seayenteene or eighteene leagues from Burdeaux: and by the Frenchmen is called, Les Asnes de Burdeaux.G3 And if a man should saile into the sea of America: howe many sortes of whales shall he see farre differing from those which are in our Ocean? sometimes they will be seene like vnto a round wheele, and sodainely like vnto a sharpe cutting sawe: And others againe may be seene to pursue and follow after a ship, without leaving or forsaking it for a long time. And in the sea of Norway, how many whales be there, and monstrous fishes which may even astonish those that see them? To be short, Those is nothing but will -notes- G1Of Strange sights hapning in the seas, yet naturall. Psal. 106. G2The winde called Ecnephia. G3Acts 27.

Page 149

minister unto them occasion, either of feare, or of admiration, as by seeing matters strange and vnvsuall to their sight: so that a man may say of them as Sunesius sayde of the Libians, that wendred at the small breasts of the women which were with him in his shippe, whom they never desisted from gazing and looking vppon, by way of admiration. G1 The reason whereof the same

Author yeeldeth to be this: because the Libian women have their breasts so huge and great, that they vse to give sucke vnto their infants over their shoulders: The like woulde happen, no doubt, vnto these men that doe so superstitiously admire and stand in feare of all things that are strange and vnusuall vnto them: and to whome nothing is naturall, but that which they see to happen and fall out daily, and accustomedly in their sight. But to come from the sense of seeing, to that of the hearing: how often is that also deceived in taking things naturall for other than they be indeede? G2 The Eccho is a sound proceeding from the voyce, rebounding and striking backe againe, either in Forrests, and woodes, or valleis, or hollow places, or else by reason of the extreme heate in time of summer: and yet nevorthesse how often, and especially in the night season, hath it deceived such persons as have thought it to be some other thing, rather than an Eccho? G3 The historie recorded by Cardan of a friend of his a Counsellor of Come, who thought he should have beene drowned, by mistaking an Eccho in steede of a man, is sufficiently well knowne. G4 Howbeit Cardan had reason to esteeme that his friend for a very fimple and senslesse man: for if hee had considered never so little with advisement the voyce of the Eccho, hee might easily have discovered that which deceived him. And that it was no difficult matter to be discovered, it is manifest in this, That the Eccho aunswered him in the same termes, and in the same accent that hee demanded, namely, by way of Interrogation and Demaund, saying, Shall I passe heere? Whereas if it had beene a man, hee -notes- G1 In Epistolis. G2 Of naturall things that deceive the sense of hearing. G3 Of the sound of the Eccho. G4 Lib. 18. de subtilitate.

Page 150

would have aunswered without demaunding, Passe here. Now vpon this discourse of that Eccho, Cardan telleth how in the great church of Pavie there is an Eccho that yeeldeth diverse voyces, ever decreasing and lessening till that the last voyce thereof shall be heard without being distinctly and certainly discerned: being much like vnto the voyce or groning of one that is a dying: in such sorte (saith Cardan) as a man woulde scarce beleieve that it were an Eccho. G1 But if hee that hath travelled throughout all Franncce (as himselfe writeth) woulde have taken the paines as to have gone to see the Eccho of Charenten neere Paris. I doe assure my selfe hee would have esteemed that Eccho as admirable as that of Pavy. For it dooth very perfectly resound the voyce that it hath received, and doth go continually falling lower and lower, not seaven times onely (as did the Heptaphon of Greece) but eight, and most commonly tenne

times, not without the great wonder and admiration of them that heare it. Neare to Pazzeli there is an Eccho called Virgils Eccho at this day, and is very much admired and helde to be supernaturall by those that are neere dwellers and inhabitants of that Countrey. I have heard another Eccho at Tholeusa in the suburbs of Saint Roche, which in my conceipt is very strange and woorthy to be marvelled at: for that in calme and faire weather, it will repeate a whole verse entirely and distinctly, as it hath beene vttered and pronounced.^{G2} And I have made experience thereof for my owne recreation in this full verse of Homer: [Greek omitted]. And in this common verse of Virgil: Arma virumq cane. The which it resounded after me, without leaving out any one syllable. At Spiga in Natelia, of the Antients called Cyzicums, there were seaven Towers which did redouble seaven times any voyce that was pronounced neere vnto them. ^{G3} And Plinie writeth, that this was more by fortune and casualtie, then by any naturall or artificiall occasion. But (whatsoever Plinie saith) there was Art and artificiall -notes- ^{G1}In li.de varicta. rerum. ^{G2}In odiss. [Greek omitted]. ^{G3}Of diuers things which doe naturally yeelde strange sounds.

Page 151

workemanship in those Towers, besides that they were neere neighbouring and adioyning one to the other, as may be gathered out of his owne writing. So likewise was that statue or image of Memnon artificiall; the which having the face thereof turned towards the Sunne, did yeelde a resounding noyse: and (as Pausanias said) the sound that it gave, was like vnto the strings of a Lute when they breake asunder. And what shall wee say to that stone which was in the Tower of Megara, the which being stricken on with a little stone or flint, did give a sound no otherwise, then if it had beene an Harpe or a Lute. The same Pausanias (who had travailed throughout all Greece) and had curiously observed all the singularities that were there worth the seeing: did marke this amongst the rest: and notwithstanding hee could not finde out the reason thereof, but onely that it had his ground from a certaine fable, which is: that when Alcathons, king of the Megarians, was purposed to build the walls of Megara, hee had the ayde and helpe of Apollo, who to set forward the worke, and labouring at it, as did other work-men, laid by his Harpe vpon a stone, the which ever after did retaine the sound of an Harpe.^{G1} But Ovid writeth, that not one stone onely did yeelde such a sound, but that all the other stones and walls neere vnto a certaine Tower, did the like, And these are his verses: There stands a Tower with haughtie walls enclosed, Within the which, god Ph bus (so t'is noysed,) Did one day lay

his Harpe, and ever after, That Harps sweete sound, even in the stones did enter. But though Pausanias, with Ovid likewise, doe take the reason of this marvell from an olde mouldie fable, yet so it is, that (if you take away the fable,) all the rest is verie true and certaine. And we may not thinke, that Pausanias would have spoken any thing of it, if himselfe had not seene the prooffe and triall of it: For all the ancient Authors -notes- G1Lib. 8. Metamo.

Page 152

are of accord, that he is a very true and sound Historiographer. And what shall we say of those hollow caves and caverns of th'earth, wherein are heard so many fearfull sounds and noises, that yeeld feare and astonishment to the hearers; albeit the same be nothing else but verie nature it selfe that worketh them? I say Nature: which I cannot better compare then vnto a rich Marchant, who hath in his open shop or ware-house, such wares and marchandises, as are common and vsuall: and in his Magazine or Inner store house, doth keepe and lay vp his most rare and richest commodities to make sale of the same to such Marchants as are most precise and curious. Even so nature doth lay open to the world, and set forth many things vpon the earth; whereof she is willing that every man should have the knowledge: But in her secret and inmost places, she hath laid vp and hidden so many rare and strange things, that no person can come to have the knowledge of them, vnlesse he have diligently seene and observed many and severall countries: and except he have neerely and curiously sounded the secrets of the same. I have heard, and am in a manner perswaded to beleeeve it, that in the Mounts Pireney, there is a certaine mountaine, wherein if one cast a stone, hee shall incontinently heare divers tremblings and quakings of the earth, and within a while after, he shall heare thunder sounding add breaking out in claps, within the lowest and deepest caverns thereof, not without great feare aud terror to sundry persons. This I wil not assure to be true, because I have not seene it: but certainly I have heard the same credibly avowed and assured by an infinite number of those mountaineres there inhabiting, at such time as I travelled that Country, neere the mountaines of Tarbes. Those that have beene in Italie, doe observe for one notable thing, a certaine hole or cave, the which casteth out by divers and sundry vents or chincke-holes, great store of windes, that are there within hidden and shut

Page 153

vp. And a man may not vnproperly say; that this was the Cave wherein Æolus is said to hold his windes enclosed and shut vp, and to let them forth at his pleasure, (as Virgil reportcth of him.)

And yet this cave may verie well be artificiall and made by Art, as was that Eccho of Spiga, and the Statue or Image of Memnon: and therefore it is the lesse admirable. I remember that in Clement of Alexandària, (who is held to be a verie good Author,) I have read how in the Isle of Great Britaine, called England, there is a great Cave, seated at the foote of a huge mountaine, (peradventure it is Saint Patrick hole, whereof are reported such marvells) within the which, when the wind entreth and is once entonneled, a man shall thinke that he heareth a sound of Bells and Cimbells, the which doe sound with often and reiterated strokes in a kinde of measure. G1 Besides, the same Author writrth, how in Persia, neere the Region of the Magi, there are to be seene three mountaines orderly distant one from another, and as if they had beene there planted of purpose, in the midst of a large Champaine. Such as are passengers that way, when they are besides the first mountaine, they heare a confused voyce of many thousands of persons, (as it were of souldiers) giving a charge or onset in battell: And when they are at the second, they heare yet a farre greater noyse: And being at the last, then they heare (as it were) a great reioycing and showting of men triumphing, as if the victorie had beene gotten. This, albeit it be verie admirable, yet neverthesse it is naturall. And Clement Alexanàrine himselfe doth esteeme the cause thereof, to bee by reason of the concavities of the places, which maketh such a noyse to bee heard. But wee doe dwell over long vpon these thinges which be naturall, and in some sort miraculous and admirable, of which, if we should pursue the particularities such as Plinie, Pansias, Strabo, Seneca; Elian, Aristotle, and others, (admirers of the works of Nature) have described -notes- G1This is said to be in the Peake-hills in Darbie- shire.

Chapter 8

Page 154

and numbred them: we might make a huge volume, and yet digresse nothing at all from the scope of our intended purpose. But our intent was onely to touch that, which in Nature is most rare and marvellous, and might be an occasion of feare and terrour; and not that which is vsuall and commonly knowne vnto the most part of men; or such as the cause thereof is in it selfe evident and apparant. We will therefore now descend vnto such things, as being meerely artificiall, yet doe no lesse then those which are naturall, feare and terrifie men, if they be never so little ignorant of the causes of them. CHAP. VIII. That things Artificiall, as well as things Naturall, may sometimes deceive the Senses of the Sight, and of the Hearing, and drive men into a passion of feare and terrour. Having sufficiently entreated of

those things that are bred and produced most singular in Nature, and such as doe in some sort draw neere vnto a kinde of divinitie; It now foloweth, that we shew what the hand, industrie, and spirit of men, dooth worke and effect: and that so ingeniously and subtilly, as many times a man would take it for as great a marvell, as if it were some divine thing and supernaturall. Now as there are manifold and sundry wits and spirits of men, so doe there proceede from them, many and divers kindes of cunning and artificiall devises. Some have ayded themselves only

Page 155

with their owne invention, without any Art at all: and others with their naturall invention have ioyned Art in all perfection.^{G1} But what Arte is there that dooth more instruct and teach ingenious and artificiall experiments than dooth the Mathematiques: of the which both the Antomates, and the Hydrauliques have drawne their originall? And as touching the Antomates, that is to say, such woorkes as have a motion of themselves: A man may well say, That this is an Arte and Science of excellent and divine effects.^{G2} Truly Aristotle doth make great estceme and reckoning of the Antomates wrought by Dedalus, and of the Tripodes of Vulcan: The which (as the Poetsaide, [Greek omitted]: that is to say, Did enter by their owne proper motion into the assembly of the goàs. The Scholiast of Euripides testifieth the like: and so dooth Plato the Philosopher.^{G3} And Aristotle saith moreover in another place, citing the authoritie of Philippe a Comicall Author, That Dedalus did make a statue or Image of Venus, the which (by the meanes of quickesilver artificially enclosed within it) did moove and stirre of it selfe. ^{G4} The Philosopher Architas borne at Tarentum in Italy made an artificiall Dove, which did flie in the ayre as if it had beene alive. And Archimedes composed a Sphere of glasse, of such excellent workemanship, that a man might therein perceive and comprehend the mooving of the Heavens, and of the wandering planets (as is reported by Claudian, who was in an extreame admiration of that peece of worke.)^{G5} And certainly Cassiodorus writeth, that Boetius (of whose writing wee have certaine bookes of the Mathematiques) was so excellently skilfull in the working of these Automates: as he had not the like in his time.^{G6} Tibi (saieth hee) ardua cognoscere and miracula monstrare propositum est: tuæ artis ingenio metalla mugiunt, Diomedes in ære gravius buccinatur. Æneus anguis insibilat: Aves simulat sunt: and qu vocem propriam nesciunt babere: dulcedinem cantilenæ probantur -notes- ^{G1}Of artificiall workes done by the Arte Antomatique or having motion in themselves.

G2Libr.1.Politic. G3In Hecubam. G4Li.1.de Anim. G5In Epigram,
de sphæra Archi. G6Aemulanaturæ parva reperta manus. In lib.
rarior.

Page 156

emittere. Parva de illo referimus cui cunctum imitari fas est. That
is, Thy profession is to knowe things of an high and profound
nature, and even to worke miracles. For by the ingeniousnes of
thy Arte, the dead mettalls doe bellow and mow like lowing
beastes: Diomedes is made in brasle to sound a Trumpet: A
brasse Serpent is taught to hisle, and Birdes are formed and
resembled, as if all of them were made naturally: And such
things as have not any proper voyce are prooved by Arte to send
forth a most sweete and pleasing Musicke. And yet all these
things whereof we speake, are little or nothing vnto him, to
whome it is given to imitate even the very Heavens." But what
need we insist vpon the examples of the Antients: our owne
Age is not vnfurnished of such excellent spirites comparable to
that of Boetius. For in the time of our Fathers every man
knoweth, that Charles the fift Emperour of Almanie had an Eagle
presented vnto him that was in nothing inferiour to Architas his
Dove; nor to those Serpents, Birdes and Diomedes of Boetius: for
this Eagle being made of nothing else but of mettall, had diuers
little resorts, which playing within it, did make the same for a
certaine time to flie of it selfe in the ayre. A thing without doubt
very strange and marvellous: and which (being seene by those
that knew not the cunning workmanship contrived within it)
made them beleefe, That there was some diabolicall thing in it,
and that it was nothing but meere Magicke, and a bewitching and
enchaunting of the eyes. In Paris there was a certaine Goldsmith
borne in Anion, who died but very lately, to whome I will give
this honour, That there was not, either in Almanie, Italie, or any
other countrey, any man that was able to surmount and excell
him in regarde of these Antomatique workes. I my selfe sawe a
Gallie of silver of his making in such an artificiall fashion, that it
would of it selfe moove and goe vpon a Table: and a man might
see how the motions within the same, which

Page 157

rowed it vp and downe when they came to the tables end,
would turne about the Gally, as if they had had life and
vnderstanding. And the same Goldsmith, before that time, had
made a certaine Triton or Seaman, which (when the resorts and
motions therof were bent or wound vp, and set on going,) would
shew himselfe so furious, That anie who had seene it vpon the
land, how it tormented and vexed it selfe, durst not have

touched nor handled it. Next to the Antomatiques doe come those which are called Hydrauliques, which are workes, that doe make any engine or instrument, eyther of musike or of any other sorte to play and moove by the meanes and helpe of the water.G1 At Tivoly (which is the auntient Tibur of the Romans, and is now a place of pleasance belonging to the Cardinall of Ferrara:) It is well knowne vnto many men, that there be certaine Organs, which do go and play alone of themselves, onely by meanes of the water: not without the great admiration of such as be ignorant in the Arte Hydraulique.G2 We reade in Suetonius, that Nero caused certaine Hydraulique instruments which were of a new invention, and never before had beene seene at Rome to be shewed publikely vnto the Romanes. And yet Nero lived in a time wherein there were great store of excellent wittes and good Spirites: And before him also there were others as notable, and skilfull in such ingenious inventions, as namely that man which lived in the time of Tiberius Casar, and was so excellently ingenious, that he offered vnto the saide Emperour to make any glasse so malleable, as it should endure and abide the hammer, which is a kinde of cunning, to vs altogether vnknowne, and is farre more difficult than those works that are doone by Hydraulique instruments. Servius, who lived in the time of Valentinian and Theodosiu was not ignorant of these instruments wrought by the Arte Hydraulique. For in expounding one place of Virgil, hee saith, that the Organs were blowen, and had winde put into them by meanes of them. And hee rendreth the -notes- G1Of th'artificiall works done by the Arte Hydraulique. G2In Nerone c.41.

Page 158

reason thereof, which (as hee saith) is, that by the mooving of the water there riseth a winde, which entring by the hollowe pipes of the Organs dooth disperse it selfe within them; and there remaineth no more but the fingers of the Organist to make them sound. But that which maketh me most to woonder, is: That those Organs of Tyvoly have not neede of any fingering by the cunning and industry of any man, but they doe sound alone of themselves, and have within them something (I knowe not what) of the Arte Antomatique. For a man needes doe nothing, but onely set downe certaine numbers vpon their keyes: and they will sodainely sound any song that a man would have them. And such also is that Antomatique horologe or clocke which the Rochelers did present vnto the French king Henry the third of that name: The which being mounted vp, and set vpon a frame did the like as that Hydraulique of Tyvoly. Claudian (who was neere about one and the same time with Servius) in a certaine

learned Poeme which he dedicated to Manlius, speaking of these Hydrauliques, saith very well: "That by opening the Sluces of water the Organs are made to blowe: But heerewithall (saith hee) there needed both hands, and an engin of wood, which with the helpe of the feete at each stroake might lift vp the waters as we see is vsuall in Pumpes that drawe vp water:" But that you may the better perceive the meaning of Claudian I will set downe his two last verses touching this matter: the same being corrected by mee otherwise than they were heeretofore; *Intonat erranti digito pedibusq; trabali, Veste, laborantes in Carmina concitat vndas.* Those learned Authors which heretofore corrected this Poet, after the manner of the auntient reading, did let still remaine the word *penitus*, insteede whereof I doe reade *pedibus*. "For Glaudianus meaning was to say, That the Organist played with his fingers vppon the Organs, and with his feet moved a flat beame or planke,

Page 159

by the meanes whereof, as by a Pumpe, he lifted and drew vp the waters." This correction, whether it bee well or ill doone, I referre to the iudgement of the learned. But in my conceipt, that seemeth to be the true and proper sense of the Poet. But touching the Arte Antomatique and Hydraulique Eron hath made two Treatises thereof, not yet Imprinted, which I have seene in the Library of the most high and worthy Queene and Princesse Katherine de Medicis the Queene mother: and they do wel deserve to be brought to light, or to be translated either into our common and vulgar language, or into the Latine tongue: Howbeit that some of my friendes have assured me: That that learned man Adrian Turnebus hath translated certaine pages thereof before his death: of the which his heires made no reckoning, bicause they were imperfect, and not well reviewed. But over and above the Artes of the Mathematiques, men of themselves may finde out and invent a thousand subtile devises farre estranged and remooved from the common invention of man. G1 Cardan (whome we have so often alleadged,) telleth how it is possible by subtiltie and artificiall skill, to make that a man shall walke in the midst of the water vpon the very toppe thereof without sincking to the bottome, by meanes of corke tied to the soales of his feete. For my parte I thinke well, That Cardan would not have delivered this subtilty, except he had seene the prooffe and triall thereof. But if it bee so, that this be feisible: then I may say, that those men whom any shall see to walke vppon the water in that manner, will strike no lesse feare and terrour into the Beholders, than Lucian and his companions did conceive (as himselfe writeth) by the sight of these Phellopodes or

Corkefooted persons that walked vppon the waves of the sea, without sinking, having their feete of Corke.G2 The same Cardan doth further more set down and teach, how a man may faine artificially false Spectors, and he giveth many instances and experiments therof, needles here to expresse. G3 -notes- G1Of artificiall Specters. G2Libr.2.verar. narrat.vbi nihil vericontin. G3In lib.de varietat.rerum.

Page 160

But to continue on our purposed Discourse: There are some of these Tumblers and Vawters so expert in their Art, that partly by the subtiltie and nimblenes of their hands, and partly by the agilitie, strength and dexteritie of their body, and the quicknes and vivacitie of their spirit, they will doe things passing admirable.G1 And as touching the fine convaying and nimblenesse of the hands, can we give any better example then some Iuglers, who in playing their trickes onely by meere industrie, and without any Magicke, will so charme and blinde the eyes of the beholders, that they will make them beleeeve even what they list. And as for the agilitie of the body, I will alledge no other then those Tumblers of Italie: whose perilous leaps and vawtings (which they call the Forces of Hercules) do make the simple and ignorant people to be of an opinion, that they doe them by Art Magicke and Enchauntment: although it be verie evident that there is no such matter. But on the contrarie rather, there is nothing strange nor admirable in those their actions, if a man do consider how even from their youth and tender yeares, they do continually exercise themselves in such leapings and vawtings. The report is, that the Turkish Tumblers are farre more subtile and artificiall therein then the Italians. For be it either to tumble, to daunce vpon a corde, or by force and strength of the armes, to beare and lift vp things of huge weight, such as the Italians are not able so much as to lift from the ground, they are held to be most expert and excellent. And I have read, that in Turkie there are Tumblers which will enclose and burie themselves in the ground, and have nothing but a little tunnell or pipe of wood, by which they will breathe and speak out of the earth. Assuredly these men may verie well by this devise deceive many persons, and especially if they should be heard speak in the night time, from vnder the ground. For what other thing coude any man coniecture of them but that they should be spirits? It is a thing sufficiently -notes- G1Of acts done by Tumblers. Vawters, and Iuglers.

Page 161

knowne, that the ancient Greekes, and after them the Romans, had amongst them such kinde of Tumblers: and especially, the rich men of Greece did vse seldome or never to make any solemne banquet: but they had of these Tumblers, who after their feasts, might recreate their guests with their vawting and tumbling.G1 And this doth Xenophon testifie, and after him Atheneus, who maketh speciall recitall of many such Vawters that were so excellent in that Art, that men were of opinion, they vsed Ligierdemaine, or Art Magicke. And that those of that age were more excellent then ours, it appeareth in this: that by their vawtes and devises in leaping, they would expresse even the verie passions of men, as is most largely recounted by Lucian. G2 Sometimes they will leape like Hercnles, when he was furious: sometimes as an Orestes, as an Alcmeou, an Athamas, a Poliphemus, a Silenus: sometimes they would act their trickes more temperately and moderately, as if they did represent vpon a Stage, some Agamemnon in a Dreame, or a Menelaus, or some Sage Vlisses. Sometimes againe, they would expresse the rages and extreame passions of love, in some Dido, in a Medea, in a Phillis, and a thousand others. And amongst the Romans, for this Art were most famous, Esope, Pylades, Hylas, Pantonimus, Mnestor, and he whom for his excellencie in that skill, Nere the Emperour gave vnto Tiridates, king of Armenia: who is reported to have expressed by his skilfull feates in vawting, and by the motion and nimble turning of his bodie and of his members, all thinges that were possible to bee expressed by the speech. But what shall we say of those men, who without any skill in the Art of Tumbling, are not withstanding even by naturall disposition so subtile and ingenious, as they will be able to delude and deceive even the best advised?G3 There be some men who have their voyce so subtile and so divers, that they will imitate are all sorts of birdes so naturally, that if a man did not see them, hee would -notes- G1In Simposio. In Dynposoph. G2[Greek omitted]. G3Of illusions offered vnto men by feined voyces.

Page 162

constantly affirm, that he heard the true melodie of birds singing naturally. Others againe have the Organ of their voyce and their throte, sometimes so fine and small, that being verie neere vnto a man, they will call him, and yet it will seeme to the partie called, that hee should be farre off from them. To this purpose, I will recount vnto you, a thing as strange and admirable, as I ever read in any historie whatsoever: and it was tolde me by a President, at such time as I was a Student in Tholousa. And I doe assure my selfe, that if the same had not beene verie true, that learned and grave Personage (who was a man verie wary of

beleeving such strange things reported vnto him) would never have tolde it me in such sort as he did: for he named vnto me the man that was so deceived: And that was a certaine Marchant of Lions, whose name for this time I will conceale, who beeing exceeding rich both in banque and in other goods and possessions, and being above all noted for a great and notable vsurer: he went one day walking into the Countrey, accompanied onely with one man that was his servant. And as both of them together, were entring into a great laund, or an open and large Champion, behold the servant beganne to speake vnto him and to tell him; That he was an Angel which came vnto him purposely as a messenger sent to tell him by commandement from God, that he should give and distribute part of his goods ill gotten, vnto the poore, and that he should liberally recompence his servant that had of a long time served him, without any reward or preferment at all received from him. The Marchant being abashed and astonished at the voyce, demanded of his servant if he heard nothing, and repeated vnto him what himselfe had heard. The servant counterfaiting a kinde of wonder and astonishment, did deny that hee heard any thing: and immediately with a voyce farre more strange and subtile then the former, he repeated the same words againe, and that with such

Page 163

admiration of the Marchant, that hee was brought into a full beliefe, that it was an Angel from heaven that spake vnto him: Insomuch, as being arrived into his lodging, he gave vnto his servant a good and large recompence. As touching his life afterwards, whether he amended it or no, I know not: But his servant (who within a small time after left his service,) did noyse abroade and make known, by what a wile and devise he had served his turne of his Maister, to wring money from him. The same President did furthermore shew vnto mee, that himselfe was once bidden to a banquet, wherevnto the late deceased Monsieur de la Cazedien had invited many learned men, the most excellent spirits that were then living in Paris. G1 During this banquet, it happened that a merrie companion, (whom the said Signeur had caused to be present of purpose, for the more pleasure and varietie of mirth at his banquet, in immitation of that of Xenophon, or of the Emperour Iulian: wherein there was a Silenus that kept companie with the gods, and brake a ieast vppon every one of the Casars,) called one of the companie by name: a man well knowne for his doctrine and eloquence, whom I will not now name, because he is living. G2 This partie hearing himselfe called, arose immediately from the Table, supposing

that some one without the doores bad called him: albeit in verie deede, it was no other then that same pleasant companion that was set at table with him. You may see then, how that they that have their voyce fine and subtile, may easily deceive men of the best spirit and vnderstanding. Herevnto we may also adde and referre in a sort, the subtilty and fraude of some men, who heretofore (ayding themselves with the benefite of the night and darkenes) by meanes of a voyce entonneled in a long cane or reede, have deceived and seduced such as have beene scant well advised: insomuch, as they have caused them to doe things they would never have done, if it had not beene by meanes of such abuse and illusion. It is reported, -notes- G1In Simposio. G2In convivi.Cas.

Page 164

that Bonisace the eight did vse this subtlety as a meane to climbe vnto the Papaeie: and faining himselfe to be an Angell, he extorted the dignitie of the soveraigne Bishoppricke out of the handes of Celestine a simple holie man, and more worthy to live in an Hermitage, than to have that charge wherein he had beene placed and invested. It is a matter also very famous and notorious, how that in times past there was in the Towne of Angiers, one that was servant vnto a rich and wealthy widow, who to come to the toppe of his desires, (which was to gette his mistris in marriage by any practise whatsoever,) and that by meanes thereof hee might get an interest in the great wealth and goods which she possessed: he fained himselfe to be the spirit of hir late deceased husband. And breaking a wal or terrasse that was neere adioyning to his mistris bed side: he put a reede thorow the same, thorough the which speaking in the night season, so as his Mistris might heare him, hee oftentimes repeated these or the like wordes in effect: My sweete love, I am the soule of thy deceased husband, who doe counsell thee for thy profite, that thou take such a one thy servant in marriage. This deceitfull illusion was of that force and efficacie, that it fell out according as her servant had fore thought. And indeede it was not ill for her: for he became so good a husband, that he died one of the richest and wealthiest persons of the towne: insomuch as his riches is growne into a Proverb at this day throughout all Aniw. Now there be some some persons, that together with some artificiall and coyned voyce doe also royne thinges naturall, which at the first shew doe seeme very strange vnto the eyes of the Beholders.G1 As for example, They doe clothe themselves in the skinnes of Sea-calves, or Seales, which naturally are of a glistering and shining colour: and so doe they present themselves vnto those whome they have a purpose to

deceive; perswaching them with a faint and fained voyce whatsoever they doe thinke good. Sometimes they take a winding sheere, or -notes- G1Of divers artificiall devises vsed to make a shew of Spirits and Specters.

Page 165

some white linnen clothes, and doe affirme themselves to be the soules and spiritos of the dead. And of these we can yeelde plantifull examples. First of all here we may alleadge an history recited by Hector Boetius in his Annales of Scotland. A certayne Scottish King, having lost the battell against the Pictes, found his people so discouraged, that they were all out of love with the warres. The King being much aggrieved therewithall, did suborne certaine persons, who being apparelled with bright shining seales, and having in their handes, truncheons of rotten wood (which in Scotland is very common, and dooth shine by night, as wee have before saide) did appeere vnto the Princes and Chiefctaines of the Scottish army being in their dead sleepe: and awaking them, did admonish them to fight afresh against the Pictes, the antient enemies of the Scots: And that they should not be afraide to assaile and set vpon them, for that they were sent from God, to tell them, that they should vndoubtedly obtaine the victory. This devise wrought so well and effectually, that the Princes and Chiefctaines (being of opinion that they had seene the Angels of heaven in their dreame,) did beleeeve that God would fight for them: and in this conceipt and imagination they charged vpon the Pictes so lively and courageously, as they both defeated and vtterly rooted them out of their coun trey. Thus did these truncheons of rotten wood, and these seales of fishes, or rather, Seale-skins, give a notable occasion to this king of Scots to adde an artificiall devise of mans invention to the presence of men, whose lively voyce ioyned to a thing meerly natural (yet strange at the first shew) did cause the (02) that they which could not drscerne neither the Nature of the one, nor the Art of the other, did take both the one and the other to be a verie vision and true Specter. That which maketh mee most to marvell at these Princes and Chiefetaines, is: That though each of them severally and asunder by his owne bed side, did see this naturall and artificiall vision: none

Page 166

of them neverthesse could discover this deceit: but that all in generall did beleeeve, that what was presented vnto them, was surpassing and beyond nature. But howsoever, this was well carried without being discovered, I suppose at this present the like would hardely and ill be done: but that it would rather fall

out contrary to the intention and meaning of the Deceiver, so as himselfe would be deceived. Erasmus in one of his Epistles which hee wrote vnto a certaine Bishop, shewing: That it is not alwayes sure nor expedient to give faith and credite vnto Specters, the which are sayde, by some, to appeere vnto them: amongst other Histories dooth bring in this that hapned in his time. There was, (saith he,) a certaine person with whome a neece of his did dwell and sojourned, being a woman rich, and well monied, and withall, very covetous. He counterfeiting himselfe to be a Ghost and a Spirite, didde often vse to come in the night time into the chamber of his sayde neece: and being covered with a white sheete, did faine himselfe to be a soule departed. He would vse also to vtter some doubtfull and ambiguous wordes, and would make certaine rumblings and noyses in the ayre, hoping that shee would have sent for some Exorcist, to come vnto her, or that she her selfe would have coniured it. But as she had the courage more than of a woman, so did she advise herselfe accordingly: and caused a certaine friend of hers to come secretly into her chamber, that should entertaine the spirite: And having made him to drinke well (because he should stand the lesse in feare of the Spirite) and arming him with a good great cudgell, as much as hee could well gripe in his hand, that he might therewithall serve himselfe; in steede of exorcismes, shee caused him to be hidden in a corner by her bed side till such time as the supposed spirit should make his repayre thither; who at his accustomed houre failed not to come, and to make his wonted stirres and noyses, bellowing and crying (I knowe not in what) sadde and

Page 167

sorrowfull sorte. Vpon the hearing of these stirres the good drunkard that was to play the Coniurer, beganne to rowze himselfe halfe overcome as hee was with wine and sleepe. The spirit seeing him drawe towards him, endeavoured with more strange voyces and gestures as well as hee could to repulse and terrifie him. But this gallant (who by reason of his wine, that had warmed his braines, was the more hardy and adventurous) beganne to rush vpon Monsieur the spirite, saying vnto him: Sir, if you be the Divell, I am his damme: And therewithall he curried him so lustily with sound blowes of his cudgell, that the spirite (which was of no other substance than flesh and bone) did so well feele his Bastanadoes as hee cryed out for pardon: and saide hee was Maister Iohn. At this worde his neece leapt out of hir bed, and stayed her friend from dealing with him any further. And this shall suffice to speake of artificiall devises which doe in a sorte seeme very cunning and subtile, and do passe withall so

cunningly, as the most crafty are overtaken and abused by them. Wee will now proceede to speake of other artificiall pranks more grosse and not so fine: and such as are played and vsed vpon sottish and simple witted persons. It is a thing very ordinary and vsuall with common Iesters, to be alwayes deluding of simple and credulous folkes: And you may well thinke how easie a matter it was to make that man beleeeve any thing whatsoever (of whome Balthasar Castilion speaketh,) who was easily perswaded and drawne to beleeeve, that hee was starke blinde. The history is thus. G1 Two Bouffons or pleasant companions, after they had long played and jested with a poore simple fellow, made him in the end to lay him downe: And within a while after, they having put out the candle, made a shew as if they had beene still playing at the cardes, and did perswade him who was layde, that there was light still burning in the chambery and that they did still holde on play: Insomuch as at last this -notes- G1Ofiests wher by simple persons are deceved and deluded. lib.2. of the Courtier.

Page 168

poore man began to cry out vnto them, saying, Oh sirs, I am blinde. The others replying vnto him, and making shew as if they did come neere him with the candle, said that he was deceived, and that it was nothing but a fantasie that was come into his head: for that his eyes were still very faire and goodly to looke vnto: Ay me (quoth he) this is no fantasie, nor I see no more, than as if I never had had eyes in my head. This poore soue (say I) would have easely beene made beleeeve all manner of false visions that any man could have presented vnto his sight: And if his companions had withall made a noyse and rumbling in the Chamber, it had beene enough to have scared and frayed him, as if the Fairies and Spirites had already taken him by the shinnes. Besides, it is a common tricke of vnhappy boyes to make especiall choice of Churchyardes, there to terrifie others: because those are helde to be places most suspected for Ghostes and Spirites to haunt in and inhabitc.G1 In those places they will sometimes set Crevises alive or Tortoyes, and putte a burning candle on their backes: and after will let them to go, to the intent those that shall see them slowly marching or creeping neere about the sepulchres, may suppose them to be the soules of dead men. G2 And truely Homer saith, That the Tortoise is armed with deceit and imposture: or that I may vse his owne worde) [Greek omitted]. Meaning in my conceit, That by her, simple persons are deceived in the night season. More than that, there be of those Streete-walkers and idle companions which wil apparel themselves like warre-woolues, and take vnto them the

habite of some supposed spirite or Divell: and so keeping neere vnto the sepulchres of the dead, they will counterfeit themselves all the night to be ghosts and spirites. G3 Lavater recounteth how it happened one day in a Towne of Switzerland named Zurich, that certaine yoong lusty Gallants and carelesse youths having changed their apparell, did daunce all night long, and within a certaine -notes- G1 Churchyards places most suspected sot spirits to walk in. G2 In himno Mercurii. G3 Libr, I. de Spectris.

Page 169

churchyard: and it happened that one of them more pleasantly disposed than the rest, taking vp the bone of a dead man, did play therewithall vpon a beere of wood that was neere, by, and was vsed for the carriage of the dead corpes: and hee made it to sound as if he had beene playing on a Tabor. Some there were that happened to perceiue it, who (as it seemeth) being none of the wisest, did presently spreade abroad throughout all the towne, and reported, that they had seene a daunce of dead men: and that it was greatly to be doubted, that some plague and mortalitie would follow after it. Certaine it is, that it is much the worse when as such fooles doe finde others as very fooles as themselves. For else it might happen, that their trumperies and deceitfull illusions which they prepare to abuse others, would fall vpon their owne heades; and they might chaunce, at some time or other, to be so well marked for their labour, as they would remember it all their lives after. But if these maister fooles doe gaine little or nothing in playing the diuelles towards such as are more diuelles than themselves: So doe they as little advantage themselves when they thinke to terrifie and make afraide such men as are wise, and of a minde settled and assured, and who doe not easely, or without good prooffe and triall, beleeeve all things to be Spirites, which doe appeere hideous and strange vnto them. To this purpose there is a very notable Historie recited by Lucian of Democritus an excellent Philosopher in his time. G1 Democritus being willing to withdrawe himselfe into a solitary place, that hee might the more at his ease intend the study of Philosophy without being troubled by any body, made choice of a sepulchre that was large and deepe in the ground and seated without the citie of Abdera; within the which enclosing and shutting himselfe vp, hee beganne to write and compose many things containing matter of notable and great learning: The young youths of Abdera (who esteemed him little - notes- G1 In Dialogs [Greek omitted])

Page 170

dead theefe that spake vnto him, hasted him away as fast as he could possible. The man vnder the tree arising vp, ranne after him as fast, with a desire to overtake him, and still he cried, Stay for mee, stay for mee: but the other had not the leasure. For his feare had set him in such a heate, thinking still that the dead thiefe followed him at the heeles, that he never left posting, till he was quite out of breath. Then was he forced to stay whether hee would or no, and to abide till the other that followed did overtake him, who by his presence, brought him to be againe of good courage, when he saw that his feare was meerely vaine and senselesse. Now although (as I have saide) Churchyardes Sepulchres and Gibbets, be common and vsuall places where vnhappy youthes doe make their resort to play the spirits: yet so it is, that sometimes their audaciousnesse passeth further, even to the dwellings and houses of men, wher they have a hope, either to carowse the good wine, or to inioy their lascivious loves. G1 And thereof commeth the old French prover be: *Onsont filettes et bon vin Cest là où haute le lutin.* That is, Where prettie wenches be, and store of good wine, There do the night-sprights haunt from time to time. The tales of the Queene of Navarre, and of Boccace, are full of these dissembled spirits, such as in the end have beene discovered, not without receiving the due chastisement of their deserts. And it is not to be doubted, that if the true meaning of our lawes were pursued and duely followed: such lewd persons should bee as grievously punished; yea, and more severely then simple theeves. G2 For I know not better how to terme them, than plain and manifest Burglarers, who do enter violently into other mens dwelling houses, with an intent of stealing, little other then felonious: to whom our Civill Lawyers have appointed this punishment, that either they should -notes- G1 Of counterfait spirits that vse to haunt mens houses for good cheere or lasciviousnes. G2 *Directarios qui in aliena cænacula furandi animo se conferunt.* Li. *Sacularis D. extraord: omninibus.*

Page 171

be sent to digge in the Mynes of mettalls, or at least to suffer the Bastmado. But that paine is too easie and gentle for them; and I may well say, that their behaviour doth deserve to bee punished with death, as all privie and secret theeves are, according to the quantitie of the summe, the qualitie of the persons, and the circumstances of the places. For their Act is farre more heinous then simple theft or felonie: Forasmuch as besides that they go with an intent to robbe and spoyle, they do endeavour also to sollicite and overthrow the honour and honest reputation of women: of the which, both the one and the other is punishable,

and especially, if there happen any adulterie, for that alone deserveth paines of death. It is not once, nor seldome that such sort of spirits have beene discovered by the Magistrate, and sharply punished according to the exigence of the cause, either with death or perpetuall infamie. But it is not in our age and daies onely, that these pranckes have heene vsed, but even almost two thousand yeares ago, or thereabouts. Plautus in his Comedie intituled Mostelaria, faineth, how by a cunning sleight and devise of a servant, an olde man his maister, was made beleieve, as hee came home from out of the Country, that the spirits did haunt his house: and that therefore, both his sonne and he had forsaken and abandoned the same in his absence. And this the servant did, that he might the better cover and conceale the loose and dissolute behaviour of the sonne from the father, and the better to colour the sale which hee had made of the house. And what shall wee say of those, who counterfaiting themselves to bee spirits in an house (where themselves are domestically dwelling,) doe thereby cause the death of some other, by their lascivious and lewde behaviour.^{G1} For my owne part I do hold, that they ought worthily to be punished with some arbitrarie paines and torments. And I can give you an argument or experiment of the like deede in a manner, whereof our Civillians doe make notes -^{G1}Of counterfaint spirits affrighting folkes, causing the death of persons by their illusions.

Page 172

mention.^{G1} Certaine foolish young men did so rudely cast or tosse vp one of their companions, that being throwne somewhat higher into the ayre then was reasonable, he fell downe so vnhappily, as his whole body was bruised and crushed together, in such sort, that hee died very shortly after.^{G2} The Lawyer Vlpian saith in this case, that those gallants which thus caused the death of this their companion by their foolish wantonnes, were punishable as homicides and murtherers by the law Cornelia. As also they in like case, which doe engender such feare in the hearts of men, being given to be superstitious and fearefull, so as they die thereof, ought to be punished by the same reason. And Accursius saith, that they which do in this manner feare and fright folkes, ought (according to the lawes) to bee exiled and banished, although the death of the parties do not happen therevpon. But if so be any do die thereof, he gathereth by divers lawes, that then they which were the causers of such death, should be punished extraordinarily. But all this Discourse of Accursius, is vpon the exposition of a certaine law of "Paulus the Civilian, who saith: Who soever shall do any thing whereby the simple spirits and mindes of men shall be frightened and

terrified through over great superstition: The Emperor Marcus willed and ordained, that such a one should be banished into some Island." And yet for all that, did not Accursius either more or lesse, vnderstand the meaning of the law which he took vpon him to expound.^{G3} For even those very lawes which he alledged by way of argument: to what purpose doe they serve, as touching his explication? Their scope is not to entreato of any other thing, then of the Arrabian Scopelisme, or of those mounty banckes the which did vse to carrie about Serpents: and not of any manner of feare conceived or apprehended through superstition. But this is in some sort pardonable in Accursius, who had not thoroughly searched nor turned over the good bookes of the antient Writers. And therefore he could -notes-
^{G1}Licinius Ruffinus in comparatione legum Mosis and Iurisconsult. ^{G2}Vlpianus li.4. § cum quidam D. ad leg: Cornel: de sicar. Iurisconsult. A. in Furti § cum eo D.de furtis. Lusus perniciosus imprimitus esse non debes. Glosanl. quis aliquid D. de p nis. Arg.l. penult. § vlt. D de extraordin. criminib. and l. vlt.D.eodem in verbo.pro modo admissi actio dabitur and ibi Paulus de Circ: latoribus quo serpentes circumf erunt: loquitur.
^{G3}The French word is, Sarlatans, wherby is ment a kind of men, who in Arabia, Siria, and other th' East coutries do vsually, by a kinde of charm, take vipers, scorpions, and other serpéts in their bare hands, and so carrying them about, do sell them.

Page 173

not so well expound any of those lawes that were drawn from the auntient histories. For the truth is; that the ordinance of Marke Antonyne the Emperour, specified and declared in this law, doth leade vs as it were by the hand, to the interpretation and vnderstanding thereof; if wee regarde by the historie it selfe, the true motive that caused that Emperour to make this Ordinance.^{G1} Now the historie may well be gathered out of Iulius Capitolinus, who saith; that a certaine Impostor or cosening Deceiver, making a speech in the field of Mars, vpon a wilde Figge-tree, tooke vpon him to fore-tell and prophecie, that the end of the world would bee very shortly after, if that he at such time as he came downe out of that tree, were changed into a Storke. And within a while after, he descending them, let flie from his girdle, a Storke that he had hanging thereat, thinking by that devise, to have deluded and blinded the people: but he did it not so secretly, but he was discovered and apprehended and led before the Emperour Marke, who pardoned him: Howbeit he made an ordinance, by the which hee defended all men, of what condition and qualitie soever, not to feare and terrifie any man through superstition, and vnder pretence of religion, vpon

paine to bee banished, as we have said before. So that you may see the true sense of the law, drawne from this historie: albeit the punishment which Antonyne ordained, were lesse rigorous then it ought to bee. For considering the greevousnes of the offence, (namely, to ingender and breede a feare in a whole people, vnder pretence of a false miracle:) death it selfe was but a iust and due reward for the same. G2 Vnder the like paines also ought they to passe, who doe give themselves out to the simple and credulous people, to be adored and worshipped as gods, and vnder the vayle and colour of religion, do deceive and delude men: faining themselves to be the soules of holie persons, or such like spirits, with an intent to cause themselves to be respected and honoured, and that thereby they may -notes- G1In vita Marci Anto philoso. G2Of Impostors and deceivers taking vpon them to be adored as gods or deceiving men vnder a colour of religion.

Page 174

attaine to the top of their defires, bee they good or bad. Hanno the Carthaginian and Psappho, did nourish birdes in a cage, learning them this lesson to say; That Hanno and Psappho were gods. G1 Lucian recounteth a notable Imposture of one Alexander, who nourishing in private a certaine gentle Serpent, (whereof there are many the like in Macedonie,) made the people of Pontus, (inhabiting about the Euxine Sea, men of a grosse and sensuall vnderstanding) to beleeeve that it was the god Esculapius. And by that meanes hee plumed and fleeced them of their mony, giving them nothing but fables and false oracles in parment. This false Prophet lived even in that verie time wherein Lucian and Athenagoras lived, who made mention of him in some of their works: And these two persons were living vnder the raigne of Antonyne the Philosopher, and before him, vnder Antonius Pius. Before their time lived Simon Magus, who did so cunningly charme and enchaunt the eyes of Nero, by his false miracles, and did so faine himselfe to be a god, that Nero insteede of punishing him severely, (as he ought) was perswaded to erect an Image vnto him, set aloft on an high pillar, wherevpon was written; (a) To Simon the bolie god. That great and notable Magician Empedocles; and before him Pithagoras, by their impostures, would have made the world beleeeve, that there was in them a kinde of divinitie, I know not what. For the same Pithagoras fained, that hee had beene in hell, and was come from thence: and he tooke vpon him to recite vnto the people of Crotona, all whatsoever had happened vnto any of them particularly: so that he was generally esteemed for ever after, as a man highly beloved of the gods, as(b) Diogenes

reporteth of him. And as touching Empedocles, we have yet extant certaine verses of his, which he made before his death: and by them he chanted and gave it forth vnto the people of Agrigentum, his fellow Cittizens, that he was no mortall man, but a god immortall: and a benigne and favourable god that soiourned at that present -notes- G1[Greek omitted] a)a) The writing was in, Latine Simoni Deo sancta: But the Ecclesiasticall Hiftorians, who have written this historie of Simon, have bin deceived in the name of Semo Fidius sanctus: a god which the romans worshipt, whom they tooke for Simon b)Li.5.de vita philosophorum.

Page 175

amongst them, to the intent he might ayde and succour them that did invoke and call vpon him.G1 And in truth, after he had made those verses, a humour tooke him to cast himselfe into the midst of the flaming fire of Mount Mongibel, to the end, (that disappearing on a suddaine from the sight of men, and so being no more seene,) it might have beene imagined, that hee was flowne into heaven. But the flame more iust then he, discovered his imposture; for it cast vp againe from below, one of his slippers or pantables: and so it was knowne, that this poore and wretched braine sicke Philosopher, was there burnt and consumed to ashes. Neverthesse, such impostures and illusions as these, have gone farther then to meane and small persons: For even the greatest have somtimes helped themselves by them, to insinuate themselves by little and little, into the mindes and affections of men vnder the covert and colour of religion. The king Minos, the law-maker of Candye, at such time as he had a purpose to bring in, and establishe lawes in his realme, fained, that Inpiter did daily speake vnto him face to face: and that he was (as Homer saith) his [Greek omitted]; that is, his familiar: and one with whome, he had private and speciall conference. The which got him such fauour with the people: that his name growing there vpon to be famous, and of great credite, he gave such a countenance and authoritie to his lawes, that they were kept and observed longer then were any other amongst the Greeks.G2 And Lycurgus also (as Aristotle writeth) did serve himselfe of this devise, for the establishing of those lawes which he instituted and made in his Common-wealth. Numa Pompitius, king of the Romans, did likewise faine, that the Nymph Egeria, had familiaritie and acquaintance with him, and did informe him of those lawes which he prescribed vnto the people of Rome; a nation at that time very vnapt to be taught and instructed, and which could verie hardly (by reason of their

fiercenesse and martiall courage) be tamed and brought to civillitie, -notes- G1[Greek omitted] G2In Politicia

Page 176

had it not beene by the onely meanes and colour of religion. The Roman Chieftaine Serterius, did help himself by the meanes of a white Hinde, to stay his souldiers from revolting: whereas otherwise, they being wearie of the warres, had a determination to yeelde or reconcile themselves to their adversaries. And Mahomet, his Dove (which he had taught to take corne out of his eare) was a principall helpe and instrument vnto him to make the Ismaelites or Arabians beleieve, that it was the holie-Ghost, that came to inspire him with that pernicious and detestable law, which he invented and instituted by the ayde; not of the holy-ghost (as he vannted) but of the Iew Abdala, and of Sergius an Apostata, and monke renied. To be short, even in the time of our fathers, the Cheriffe and the Sophy of Persia, two notable hypocrites, insinuating themselves by degrees into the heartes of the people, vnder a pretence of religion, have gained so great authority and preheminance, that either of them seising of that province where they inhabited, have dispossessed the rightfull and auntient possessours of the same, and have set their crownes vpon their owne heads. And why should we forget that superstition, which was observed at the enterrement of the Roman Emperours; which was as plaine an imposture, and full of deceit and illusion as was any of those whereof we have before spoken? Every man knoweth, that when the dead bodies of these Roman Emperours were to be burned, there was a living Eagle set vpon an engine made of purpose: And assoone as the fire was kindled, the Eagle was suffered to flie away: and therevpon the common saying was: That it was the soule of the deceased Emperour which mounted from thence vp into Heaven (as Heroàian witnesseth.) G1 And Iustine Martir assirmeth, that there was alwayes one deputed and ordained by the fuccessour of the dead emperour, who should vpon his oath averre, That hee had seene the soule of the emperour (which was said to be deified) to issue out from the pile of fire and to flie -notes- G1Libr.4.histor. Cæsarum. In Apollologia ad Divos frat.

Page 177

directly vp into heaven. The wordes of Iustine are these; [Greek omitted]. G1 The same also dooth Dion write, who saith, that Livia the wife of Augustus did give tenne thousand crownes vnto Numerus Atticus Preter to have an Affidavit made, that hee sawe Casar Augustus mount vp into heaven.G2 And Seneca reciteth how Drusilla being deified by Caligula (who was both her brother,

and her husband) he found out a fellow that sware hee had seene Drusilla mount vppe into heaven: whereat when all men mocked and jeasted at him in good earnest, every body on all sides hissing at him, hee protested in the open Senate; That if from thencefoorth hee shoulde at anie time after in the open streete, and at mid-day see any man slaine whomsoever, he would never more be drawne to beare witnesse of it. But before wee give over this our Discourse of impostures and delusions: I holde it not amisse to sette downe three Histories of this subiect the most notable and famous, that were ever read or observed in any Authours whatsoever. For by the same it is to be seene, how three severall lewd and vngratious youthes for the enioying of their amorous and lustful desires, have ayded themselves with the cloake of religion, and have fained themselves to be gods. G3Esehines that great and famous Oratour writing to a friend of his touching the variable and sundry traverses, troubles, and daungers which hee had passed in the time of his travells and voyages abroad during his exile: amongst many others recounteth how hee came to lie at roade in the haven of Treada, before that great and famous towne of Troy, where hee went ashoare, to the intent he might refresh himselfe and his company from the travell of the Sea: and that hee might the more at his pleasure contemplate and satisfie himselfe with the Spectacle and sight of the Antiquities of Pergamus: and in reading the verses of Homers Iliads, he might marke out -notes- G1In vita Aug. sub finem. G2In lud.de morte Claud. Neronis. G3Epist. 10.

Page 178

(as it were) by the finger, and with the eye, these famous places and the rivers, and the situation of the campe of the Greekes and other antient monuments: and so conferre them with the Text of the Poet. Now in his company there was one named Cimon a yong man light headed, lascivious, and woonderfully addicted to his pleasures, and to the haunting and courting of women. It so happened that there was a great and solemne feast day to be celebrated, wherein all the Virgins of the countrey were to be espoused; such as by lawe, and for their age were fit to be married. The number of these Damselles was very great: and such was the vse and custome in Troada, that they which were then to be married, must first go vnto the river of Scamandra, there to wash themselves. And having bathed themselves therein, they must by an antient sacred ceremonie pronounce these wordes: Take O Scamandra my maydenhead. Amongst all these young spouses there was one yoong maiden named Callirhoe, a very faire and beautifull Virgin, and of a goodly tall

and comely stature, and descended of noble and worthy parents, and shee came to the river to wash her selfe. Wee (saieth Eschines) who were strangers stode afarre off, beholding all this mysterie of their bathing, as much as we might be suffered, and we were mingled amongst a great troope of people being cosins and kinsfolkes to the espouses. In this meane time Cimon had closely withdrawen himselfe out of the prease, and was gotten to hide himselfe within a little bushie place or thicket neere to the river, and had gotten vpon his head a garland of Roses. Now so it was, that before that day hee had layde a plot to play an vnhappy pranke with Callirhoe, such as wee will presently shew you. For the Mayden had no sooner doone washing of her selfe, and hadde scarcely made an end of pronouncing these wordes; Take O Scamandra my maydenhead: but instantly Cimon issued forth out of the brake or thick et where he was hidden, and beganne to say: Yea with all my heart, I

Page 179

will receive thy maydenhead: I am the river Scamandra. If I doe enioy thy love, I will make thee happy during all thy life after. Having so saide, he soone embraced the Mayden about the middest of her body, and so taking her vp he carried her to the place where he lay hidden, and there tooke his pleasure of hir. But neverthesse this act could not long be concealed: for the fourth day after, at a certaine Procession that was to be celebrated in the honour of Venus, and whereat all the new married folkes must be present: Cimon would needes be there with Eschines, as having quite forgotten the lewd parte hee had played with Callirhoe: the which in reason ought to have restrained him from being seene to be there. The yoong married wife Callirhoe having gotten a sight of Cimon, did shew him great courtesie and reverence; and withall, said vnto her Nurse, (pointing at him, and shewing him vnto her with her finger;) See, yonder is the river Scamandra to whome I gave my maidenhead. The Nurse hearing her say so, could not forbear from making a sodaine and great exclamation; and shee sharply beganne to reprove Callirhoe: which was the occasion, that it was soone divulged and published abroad: and it bred such a generall offence, as both Eschines and all his company, for feare of being punished for the fault of one onely man, were constrained to get them away, and to set saile: and Cimon hied him away with them. And albeit he for his parte was not punished as he did well deserve: yet those others of whome wee are next to speake, were rigorously and severely chastized for the like. Iosephus the Historiographer writeth how in the time of Tiberius the Emperour such an other scandalous acte happened

at Rome, vnder the veile and coverture of the Sacrifices made to the goddesse Isis: There was at that time in Rome a noble woman named Paulina, no lesse famous renowned for her honesty and good behaviour, than notable for the nobility of her birth and parentage. G1 This Lady was married vnto a Roman Gentleman called -notes- G1Ioseph. libr.18. cap.4.Antiquitat. Iudaic.

Page 180

Saturnine, a man well woorthy of a wife so sage and honest. With her there fell enamored one Deeius Mondus a young Gentleman that was of good ranke and reckoning, amougest those whome they called the Roman Knights. Now although it were so, that this Lady was of so honourable an house, and so rich withall, that to imagin to be able to corrupt her, there was neither course nor meane to be hoped for: yet was this poore and wretched lover so besotted and bewitched with his love, that he would needs offer to give her two hundred thousand Drachmes (which by our estimate may amount to five thousand two hundreth pounds Turnois) vpon this condition, that he might enjoy her company, but one night, and no more. But shee flatly refusing and denying him: and the young man seeing that he could not by any maner of meanes nor devise winne her to his desire, he resolved with himselfe to famish himselfe to death, and so to end both his love and his life together. His determination was not so secret, but a free-woman of his fathers, (who had to name Ida) did discover it: and as she was a woman naturally wicked and evill disposed, and withall, of a quicke invention, and one that was expert in a thousand suttleties and cunning sleights, none of the best: so did shee cheere him vp, and willed him to be of good hope, for the attaining of his love: And that she would so worke the matter by her plottes and devises, as shee would bring his beloved Paulina to cast her selfe into his armes. These speeches awakened the yong man, as if he had beene drawen out of a long and deepe traunce; and hee prayed Ida to bestirre her selfe, and to put in execution what she had promised: protesting that hee woulde be so much, and so everlastingly beholding vnto her, that she should for ever after dispose both of him and of all his goodes at her owne discretion. Ida yeelded him manie thanks, onely shee demaunded of him fiftie thousand drachmes, wherewith to performe her enterprise, and to make a conquest of the chastitie of Paulina: Mondus

Page 181

being no niggard of his money, but like a right amorous man, (who is alwayes ready to open his purse strings which are never tied (as the Greeke Proverbe is) but with a string of rush, didde presently furnish Ida with this silver, who having received it, beganne to fall to her worke: And knowing that it was but lost labour to secke by gifts and presents to allure Paulina to any follie; shee bethought her selfe of a most cunning and subtile pollicie. Paulina was much addicted to the superstitions and idolatries of the goddesse Isis: Ida therefore found the meanes to become familiar with certaine of the Priests that vsed to offer the sacrifices to this goddesse: And having first taken an oath of them, to keepe secret that which she should imparte vnto them, she presently presented them with five and twenty thousand drachmes, promising them as much more, on condition they would so handle the matter as Mondus might attaine to enioy his desire of his love Paulina. These Priests being glad to see themselves possessed of so great a summe of money, and being as greedy to be fingering of the rest, if the businesse might be brought to good successe, did promise, that for their partes, they would so indevoure and plie themselves, that Mondus shoulde bee well and fully satisfied and contented. Heerevppon one of the eldest Priests amongst them (who, for his age, had gotten the reputation of a sage and devout person with all the people) went forthwith towardes Paulina, and having obtained libertie of accesse to her presence, so as hee might freely imparte his minde vnto her all alone, without any Arbitrers: hee tolde her, that he was come vnto her by the expresse commaundement of the God Anubis (which was a god, having the face of a dogge, and was adored and worshipped together with the goddesse Isis) to let her vnderstand, that the god ravished and surprized with the love of her beautie, didde both pray and commaund her to repaire vnto him in his Temple. Paulina received this message verie gladdely,

Page 182

and did afterwarde make her vauntes and bragges amongst other Ladies her friendes and familiars, howe much she was honored and esteemed by the god Anubis, as to be his love and favourite: And shee revealed it also vnto her husband, how Anubis had invited her to suppe and lie with him: the which her husband (being no lesse superstitious than shee) did soone and easily beleeeve: Besides that on the other side, hee knew his wife to be so fage and so chaste, that hardely would she be drawne to embrace the love of any other mortal creature, but of her husband. Shee went therefore to the Temple, and after supper (which was prepared for his with the Idoll Anubis) she was ledde

vnto a bed by the great or chiefe Priest of the goddesse Isis, where Mondus did now attend her disguised like vnto Anubis: And you may imagine whether that hee (having her now layde by his side) didde not attempt more than once to reape that pleasure which had beene so long denied vnto him. On the other side shee that beleeeved it was the god Anubis that embraced her, did entertaine him with all the pleasure and delights that she could devise, supposing that shee did gratifie a god. Before the dawning of the day Mondus arose and gate him home to his owne house. Paulina on the other parte returned very well apayde and contented vnto her husband, recounting vnto him what acquaintance shee had had with the god Anubis, and did not only imparte the same her contentment vnto her husband, but (as the fashion of woman is, not to conceale that which they have in their hearts) shee beganne to make knowne vnto her friendes and familiars (not without some touch of prowde speeches, and arguing a kinde of divinitie, which shee presumed to be in her) How her beautie was so excellent, as even the god Anubis had loved and desired it, and not only desired is, but that it had pleased him to enioy and take the possession of it. The which they could hardely be brought to beleeeve, considering with themselves what a

Page 183

strange kinde of acquaintance and familiaritie that was: And yet on the other side, they knew not what to think of it, seeing they were so well assured of this Ladies chastitie. Now the third day after the adultery committed, Mondus meeting, by chaunce, with Paulina in the open streete, saide vnto her: O Madam Paulina, what a goodly thing was it of you to spare and save mee two hundreth thousand drachmes, which you might have put into your coffers, and have encreased your revenews therewith all? and yet neverthesse you have yeelded vnto my amorous desires and affection. It cannot but greeve me, that thou shouldest despise thine owne Mondus, and yet after, vnder the marke and vaile of a God be should have his pleasure of thy beant is, having more instly deserved it then any other whosoever. And when hee had thus spoken vnto her, he passed on to the other side of the streete, and so went on his way. Paulina so dainely became pale and red, still chaunging her countenance, according as shame and despite did diversly transporte her; and in an extreame rage and anger shee beganne to teare and rend her garments, and to plucke her faire haire, and to wring her hands most pitteously. And being come to her owne house, shee discovered vnto her husband particularly, the villainous and dissolute parte that Mondus had

played her, entreating him, of all love, and by the affection of an husband which he bore vnto her, that he would not permitte the same to remayne vnpunished. Her husband incensed with wrath and choler beyond all measure, complained him of this villainous abuse vnto the Emperour Tiberius, who commaunded that Informations shoulde bee preferred of this crime and offence: by meanes whereof the whole practise was discovered, as wee have described it. For amends and recompence whereof Tiberius condemned the Priests of Isir and Ida the free-woman (who had beene Mondus his bawde) to be crucified to death: And for a more notable token of his indignation he commaunded the Temple of Isis to be overthrowne

Page 184

and destroyed, and both her image, as also that of Anubis to be drowned in the river Tiber. And as for Mondus, hee was contented that hee should onely be banished into perpetuall exile, in regarde of the ardent love and affection wherewith hee was transported and carried beyond the boundes of reason, which did in some sorte excuse him: Howbeit notwithstanding that hee deserved some civil death for the iust punishment of his lewdnesse. G1 For howsoever Oldradus one of our doctors of the Civill Lawe dooth in his Counselles excuse a certayne amorous person, who was accused, for that in the rage and furie of his love hee had vsed Images of waxe made by Arte Magicke, and (that which is more abhominable) had invocated the Diuelles: yet Oldradus (by his leave, saving his better iudgement) had no occasion so farre forth to excuse his amorous Client, but that hee deserved some severe punishment: were it onely but for this, bicause he had vsed Sorcerie, which is forbidden, both by the Civill and Cannon Lawes. G2 And be it that the rage of love is as great as hee would seeme to make it: yet so it is, that Sorcery is an Election and voluntary Deliberation of the minde: and therefore in the will of him that vseth it; the which can not be so excused, but that it is an acte and crime punishable and worthy of death. So that it is not the love that is to be punished as a passion of rage and furie, but it is the Sorcerie that is to be chastised as a crime most hainous. But let vs now come to the third and last imposture, being farre more hatefull and detestable than any of the two former. G3 It is recounted by Ruffine a Priest of Aquileia in his Ecclesiasticall Historie: and thus it is. There was (saith he) in Alexandria a Cittie of Egypt, a certaine Priest a Pagan, one of them that vsed to offer sacrifices vnto Saturne. This Priest was named both by his deedes and by his proper name, Tyrannus. Whensoever he fell to be inamored of any woman, either simple, Cittizens wife, or any noble Ladie,

and that he had a -notes- G1Oldrad.consil. 101.col.2.vers. tertia
consideratio. G2L.multi.C.de venef. and mathem.cap.2.de
Sortileg. G3Lib.11.cap.25.

Page 185

desire to have his pleasure of her: for the satisfying of his
disordinate and luxurious appetites, hee would not sticke to
come vnto their husbands, how great and noble soever they
were, (who came vsually to present their vowes and orisons
within the Temple of Saturne) and would tel them freely, that the
god Saturne was inamord of their wives; and that they must not
faile to send them in the evening to lie with him. Then hee
(whosoever it was that receved this commandement) became
wonderfully glad and iocund, that his wife should be held worthie
of the love of the greatest of the gods that were in heaven, and
was reputed to bee father of all the other gods. Wherefore,
having trimmed and adorned her to the vtmost of his power,
with the best vestments, jewels, and trinckets that she had, he
would also give her many goodly presents to bestow vpon the
god; to the intent she might not be reiected and refused if she
should come empty handed. This done, he sent her away to the
Temple, where Tyrannus received and welcomed her in the name
of Saturne, and in the presence of an infinite number of persons
there assembled. And then shutting her vp within the Temple, he
gave the keyes to a third person to be kept, and within a while
after himselfe departed and went away. Thus, when every bodie
was gone and withdrawne to their owne home, and that the
night was shut in, hee would then hide himselfe (I know not
how) in some hollow place made in the wall of the Temple, and
there would enter into the image or idoll of Saturne, which was
made in that fashion, that behinde it there was a great cleft or
opening, by the which a man might well enter at his full length:
and yet in all other parts it was so cimented and ioyned close to
the wal, that no man could perceive the cleft opening on the
other side. On all sides of the Temple, were lamps and tapers
burning: and whilst the dame was busie praying vnto Saturne,
presently would Tyrannus sound forth a voyce out of the
concavities and hollownes of this idoll, (being made

Page 186

of brasse) and so would speake vnto the dame, who it is not to
be doubted, whether she were not at the instant surprised both
with feare and ioy: with feare in hearing, (as she imagined) a
god speake vnto her: and with ioy, because a god would
vouchsafe to speak vnto her so familiarly, and to court her. So
(not knowing or conceiving any thing of the fraude that was in

the meant while intended to her dishonour) she would with great ardour and attention, give care vnto that which Tyrannus (hidden within the image of Saturne) did speake vnto her: which was, to incite and allure her to the mutuall pleasures of love, and to bring her into a passion of amorous desires. After he had thus preached vnto her sufficiently in his owne fancie: suddainely (I know not by what Art) he would make the lamps and tapers throughout all the Temple, to be extinguished; and then emboldening himselfe vpon the darkenesse of the night, he would descend from the idol, and so fall to accomplish with the woman his accursed and abhominable villanie. Having by this meanes and devise, abused many chaste and honest women. It happened that one Ladie of rare chastitie and podicitie, was to follow the same daunce: and being shut vp within the Temple, as she was one that did abhorre the crime of adulterie, (with whatsoever title it were covered or coloured) so did she beginne to give attentive care to the voyce that sounded from the idoll: and having at length conceived and observed that it should bee the voyce of Tyrannus, she arose much troubled and disquieted out of bed where she lay, and repelled Tyrannus from her, to the vttermost of her power: Afterwards, the day light appearing, she returned exceeding angry to her house, where shee recounted to her husband, the wickedness of the adulterer. The husband incensed with the indignitie of the iniurie offered vnto his wife, (which hee held as being done to himselfe) did not faile to frame an accusation against Tyrannus, and followed the same so roundly against him, pressing him so horde

Page 187

with the lewdnes of the deede, that in the end, he confessed all the good pranckes and pageants which hee had played, in violating and abusing the honour of the best and fairest women of the Towne: Whereof, being duly attained and convicted, he was condemned to suffer a shamefull and deserved death. The Painims that dwelt in the Cittie, being a great number, seeing the crime so manifestly discovered, as there was not almost any house amongst them, that had not received some scorne of indignitie; and where this publike plague of Tyrannus had not given some mortall attaint touching the honour of the husbands, in the reputation of their wives, whoms they saw to be made adulteresses, and their daughters ravished and defloured, and their children baster dized: All of them incensed with an extreame rage and choller, rushed violently to assaile the Temple of Saturne, and breaking his idoll in peeces, they pilled and spoiled the gifts and offerings that had beene presented vnto him: and pulling downe the Temple, they veterly razed it and

layed it even with the ground. This historie is not mentioned by Ruffin onely: but I remember that Saint Cirill, writing against Iulian the "Apostata, doth set it downe in this sort. G1 In the Templet of Saturne (saith hee) the Ministers and Priests themselves, have beene discovered to bee theeves and violaters of holy marriage, ayding themselves therein with their idoll, to whom they sacrificed day by day. Oh how many and how great were the lamentations of those that found themselves abused? A certaine grave Matron of honest birth and education, was called from the bed of her husband, to enter into the open house of whoredome, vnder the pretence that it was for the vse and service of a god: whose name they abused to cover their adulteries. And (that which was most vntolerable, and of all other villanies, the greatest:) by long custom and continuance, the crime of these priests had taken such footing, that it was reputed an happie -notes- G1Lib.7.cons. Iulianu.

Chapter 9

Page 188

deede: and by an vnbrideled lycence it came to be set to sale for gaine and profite: And even those which had beene drawne to commit adulterie, could not conceale their voluptuous and vnlawfull copulations."G1 I could adde vnto those three Impostures, that same whereof Boccace maketh mention, of the Monke Albert, who counterfaited himselfe to be the Angel Gabriel; to the intent he might inioy hit lascivious desires of a certaine Lady in Venice. G2 And Baptista Egnatius delivereth it for a true historie: and he maintayneth, that it happened in the citie of Venice, and that the Monke was punished. For my part, I will not assure the same to be true, no more then I will assure many things to this purpose, which Sleydan, Lavater, and other Protestants have set downe in their writings; the which ought so much the more to be suspected, because their intention is alwaies to oppose themselves against the honor of the Clergie, and to spare nothing, (bee it by right, or by wrong) that they thinke may bring them into the scandall and dislike of the world. G3 But this shall suffice to be spoken touching things both naturall and artificiall, by which the senses of the fight and of the hearing, may be deceived, be they never so sound and entyre. It is now meete and necessarie that we come to the Senses, and to the Phantasie, the which being corrupted, either accidentally or naturally, it is not to be doubted, but they may be deceived and abused in mistaking one thing for another. CHAP. IX. That the Senses being altered and corrupted, may easily bee deceived. If the Sceptiques had not so earnestly defended and maintained the falsenesse and vncertaintie of our knowledge, by meane of

the senses, which they affirmed to be deceiveable: their opinion had not bin hissed at, -notes- G1In his Deca. G2Lib.1.Tit:de Simul: Rolligi. G3Pardon him in saying this, for ill will, never said well.

Page 189

and reiected by all learned men, as it hath bin: neither had they bin so hardie as to conclude, that nothing could be cõprehended or knowne in certaine. For howsoever the senses may somtimes be deceived, (as we must needs cõfesse) yet ought not therefore to be inferred any generall conclusion; that our senses being sound and entyre, may be deceived; or if the senses be deceived, That therefore the fantasie of a wise man being sound and entire, should be violated and corrupted. And as touching the Fantasie of one that is wise and discreete, Spherus, the disciple of Lenon, doth seeme (in my iudgement) very aptly and properly to distinguish betweene that which in the Fantasie, is probable, or seeming to be true; and that which is comprehensible in very deede, certainly and truely.G1 For one day, being invited by the king of Egypt Ptolomeus Philopater to a banquet; and a disputation being begunne at his table, touching the opinion of a wise man, Spherus denied that a wise man did holde any opinion. The king purposing presently to disprove his saying, and to argue it to bee false, caused certaine fishes made of wax and cunningly painted, (as if they had beene lively and naturall fishes,) to be brought and set vpon the table before him. And Spherus being deceived in them, the king beganne to tell him out alowd, that he had consented to a false opinion. Wherevnto, Spherus gave a prompt and readie answer, saying; That in a probable kinde of coniecture he did take them to be fishes, but that his fantasie did not therefore consent vnto it. For there is (quoth he) a great difference betweene the fantasie that iudgeth of a thing probably, and that which comprehendeth or knoweth it in certainerie. So then, if a man be sometimes deceived, as touching things naturall or artificiall, (of which, wee have formerly spoken and intreated at large) in taking them at the first sight for things supernaturall and prodigious or if one doe mistake things artificiall msteede of naturall, yet nevertheles that maketh not, that his fantasie -notes- G1How the Phantasie and Senses may be deceived, and how not.

Page 190

should therefore be deceived, or that his senses must needes bee troubled and altered. That artificiall Cow which Miron made, was so cunningly wrought, that many men seeing it afarre off, did take the same to be a naturall Cow.G1 The Grapes painted

by Zeuxis; and that Mare which was at Elide, (of both which, Pausamias speaketh) were so well and artificially made, that the very birds and horses were deceived in them. G2 I could speake also of that painted Vayle, and of the Prometheus, of Parrhasius, and of the Venus of Praxiteles, or of Apelles, all which, were peeces of excellent workmanshippe, and did so well represent the lively naturall, as they were taken by many for true and naturall. And yet neverthesse, according to the speech of the Philosopher Spherus, albeit a man might say, that the eyes being abused in them, did create a false fantasie: yet was it but a probable fantasie which would soone vanish away, by the contradiction which the true and entire fantasie of a wise and discreete man would conceive thereof, and yeelde vnto in himselfe. But what shall we say when the Senses and the Phantasic bee indeede corrupted and altered? G3 Heerein it is needfull to consider, whether both of them together be corrupted; or whether the senses onely be so. For if the Senses and the Phantasie bee both violated and wounded, it is to be taken for an infallible truth, that then there is some Madnes or Frensie: and such a man can comprehend nor vnderstand nothing soundly and truly. And if the senses only be altered; it followeth not that the fansie (which remaineth sound) should (after Spherus opinion) imagine things otherwise then according to the truth of them: And if it doe sometime imagine them, according as the senses deceived will make it to beleeeve; yet so it is, that either by considering thereof in and of it selfe, or by the helpe of such discourses and reasons, as it shall receive from others: it will in the end come to raise and revive it selfe, and to take a full and certaine notice of -notes- G1In Eliacis. G2Of this vayle, and of the grapes, Plinie speaketh in his 30. booke and 10.chap.of his naturall hist. and Seneca in his 10. booke of Contro: in the 5. controversie. G3How, and in what case the Senses and the phantasie may be held to bee indeede corrupted, both ioyntly nnd severally.

Page 191

that which the senses wandring and straying, had in some sort taken and detained from it. Somtimes also (Iwil not denie) that the senses offended and corrupted, may draw the phantasie, (though sound and entire) to their false perswasion: But when the phantasie is thus deceived, it is by reason, that the senses are for a season so obfuscated or invenomed with certaine vapors arising into the braine, that the contagion passeth from thence into the phantasie, and maketh it to imagine all things false and absurde, as long as those vaporous fumes doe continue turning within the braine: but afterwards, they being extinct or

vanished, it will come againe vnto it selfe, and wil soone
 discerne, that that which it earst saw, was meerely false and
 vntrue. Heereof we may have a lively example in common
 drunkards, who having drunke wine immoderately, by meanes of
 the fumes mounting vp into their braines in great abundance,
 doe see and imagine a thousand things, all of them meerely false
 and vntrue. G1 They doe thinke that they see mountaines move,
 and trees walke: and (that I may speake as doth the Satyrist:)
 Cum bibitur Concha: hinc iam vertigine C lum Ambulat, and
 geminis exurgit mensa lucernis. .i. G2 They suppose the heavens
 to runne round; and that there is two candles at the table when
 there is but one. And the reason is, because their spirits being
 stirred by the force of the heate, doe moove and runne round
 about within their heads, and so doe make things to appeare
 vnto them mooving or double.G3 But Saint Ambrose, in my
 iudgement, doth most lively and naturally expresse
 drunkennesse, and the effects which it engendreth, and
 especially those false visions which it perswadeth. For having
 largely inveighed against it, hee thus speaketh; Hinc etiam vanæ
 imagines ebrys, incerti visus, instabilis gressus vmbras transilinnt
 sæpè sicut foveas. Nutat his cum facie terra: subito erigi and
 inclinari videtur -notes- G1Of false visions seene by drunkards,
 and the cause thereof. G2Iuvenal in Satyr. G3Lib.de Helia and
 Itiunio c. 16

Page 192

and quasivertatur. Timentes in famem ruunt, and solum manibus
 apprehendunt: aut concurrentibus montibus sibi videntur includs.
 Murmur in auribus taxquam maris fluctuantis Frigor and
 resonantia fluctu littera. Canes sividerint leones arbitrantur and
 fugiunt. Aly risu solvunlur incondito : Aly inconsotabili m rore
 deplorant: Aly cernunt irrationabiles pavores, vigilantes
 soniniunt, Dormientes litigant. that is, "Of drunkennesle
 commeth false imaginations, vncertaine sights, and vnstedie
 steppes. Drunken men do vse to start and leape at shadows, as
 if it were over ditches. They imagin, that as their faces, so the
 earth doth moove and reele vnder them; that it stirreth now vp,
 now downe, and that it rolet and turneth round about. Feare
 causeth them to tumble to the ground, and to claspe the earth
 with their hands: and they thinke themselves on all sides
 invironed and shut vp within mountaines. They have a noyse
 sounding in their eares, as if it were the waves of the sea beating
 and rebounding against the shore. If they see dogges, they
 suppose them to be Lyons, and she from them. Some of them
 doe even burst with immoderate laughter: others doe weepe
 without admitting of any consolation or comfort: others doe see

fearefull sights, and are wonderfully astonished at them: and to make short, they dreame waking, and wrangle sleeping."G1 The like did Plinie write before, that to the, same purpose; to wit, that drunken men are frighted with such horrible and fearefull visions, that the same are vnto them, as a beginning of hell torments, for so are his proper words. Lavater, in expounding a place of Salomon touching drunkennesse, where hee saith; Oculi ebriorum videbunt extraneas: vnderstanded by the word Straungers, strange visions and mervellous apparitions, whereof drunken men are falsly perswaded. G2 But vnder his correction, I say that this place ought to be vnderstood otherwise: Your eyes shall see strangers: that is, Strange women, or women of a strange nation: of whom you shall desire to have the -notes- G1Lib.14.cap. 21. G2Prover: 23.

Page 193

company: which by the law of Moses, was expresly forbidden : left that the Israelites fulling to commit whoordome with strange women, should worship also their strange gods, and so become idolatours. In the Hebrew text of Solomon, there is plainely in the Feminine Gender, Zareth, which is ever taken throughout all the Bible, for strange women, and not for strange thinges. And truely experience teacheth vs, that drunken men do licentiously runne on to all kind of loosenesse, whoring and riotousnesse: And (that I may speake as Seneca dooth) Libidino sus ebrius ne cubiculum quidem expectat: sed cupiditatibus suis quantum petierint sine dilatione permittit tunc impudicus morbum profitetur and publicat.G1 To "The lustfull Drunkard never stayeth for a Chamber to satisfie his luxurious desires, but yeeldeth vnto his lusts whatsoever they covet, without any delay: And then, shamelesse as hee is, he both boafteth and publisheth his corruption and lewdnesse." In briefe, wine taken without measure, is the firebrand and bayte, not onely of licentionsnesse and whoredome, but of all crueltie, as appeared in Antony: who as Plinie saith, Ebrius ad evertendam rempublicam accessit: So is it also of temeritie and audacitie, as may be seene in Tutlius Cimber, who (as Seneca writeth) being demaunded, wherefore hee became one of the murtherers of Iulius Casar, aunswered, Ege quenquam feram qui vinum ferre non possum? That is, Should I be are or suffer any man, that cannot beare or carry wine? Surely, a proper reason of a murtherer, to say, That he could not endure with patience the power and greatnes of a man, seeing hee coulde not carry the wine that hee had drunken. But this shall suffice to bee spoken of drunkennesse: of the vices and effects wherof, both the Poets, Philosophers, and Orators are full; whome wee neede not heere

to alleadge, much lesse to sette downe particularly, that which might be written thereof; seeing the scope of this Treatise is not to speake of any other thing than of false visions. -notes- G1Li.12.epi.fam Epist.84.

Page 194

Wee will now come to the Senses, which being altered and offended, do not for all that darken nor wound the fantasie and minde of man, but that the same dooth alwayes take their impressions for vaine and false, as knowing well, that they doe proceede of the alteration and malady of them, either naturall or accidentall. G1 And first of all we will sette downe the suffusions of the eyes which do possesse the organ or instrument of the sight. G2 They which are seized with this malady, doe sometimes (to their thinking) see flying before them little gnattes: and sometimes little atomes, both blew, greene, yellow, and of diverse other colours: and sometimes a kinde of darkesome and obscure things (I know not what:) and sometimes little buttons of wooll, and of a spiders web: and if they be neere vnto a candle burning, they will imagine that they see a circle round about it. Ierome Cardan writeth thus, in his youth and tender yeares, he had a custome every morning to see before him a thousand figures that leapt and danced round about his bed: and he held, that they were properly Specters: at least, we may coniecture so much, by the discourse which he maketh of them. But (good man) hee did not consider first of all, that he was then in the age of infancie: The which (by the authoritie of Aristotle, and daily experience) is most subiect to perceive false visions: Besides, hee did not remember, that hee had (perhappes) some suffusion of the eies, or some mist and dimnesse that remained in his sight after sleepe, at such time as he supposed himselfe to see so many figures. And I marvell much how such a dreame or error could continue and dwell with him, even in his riper yeeres: And that his iudgement and fantasie being made sage by continuance of time, hadde not perswaded him the contrary of that which his senses seemed to have received. But seeing it was his custome to make men beleeve whatsoever came of his owne fancie, and to mocke at that which others affirmed: wee will leave him to his owne humours and -notes- G1Of diverse means wherby the senses are corrupted and deceived, and first of the sight. G2Of suffusions or running of the eyes, and other malladies whereby the sight is deceived.

Page 195

complexions, and proceed on to other maladies, wherewith the sight being touched, is commonly deceived and abused. It is a

thing very sure and certaine, that when anie thicke and grose
 matter is fastened or gathered to the fleshy sinew of the eye;
 and that the patient is of a grose, fatte, and corpulent
 complexion, there ingendereth a disease of the sight which the
 Arabians doe call Halahol, a name, in my opinion, that commeth
 (as doe most of the Arabian wordes) of the Hebrew, Halaila:
 which signifieth Night and Darkenesse: for they which are taken
 with this infirmity, have their sight, in some sort, darkened and
 obscured, and they doe see (as Abenzoar saieth) two things for
 one. G1 G2 Those also which be goggle eyed, which doe cast and
 rowle their eyes overthwart or acrosse, doe endure the like, so
 as for one head of a man they doe imagine they see two at once;
 when there is any swelling in the eyes, all things do appeare and
 seeme to be red: And when a man is sicke of the yellow
 Iaudise, whatsoever hee seeth about him on every side, will
 appeere to be yellow, and of the colour of saffron: by reason of
 the cholericke humour which lieth like saffron in the eyes. G3
 And to make shorte, Aristotle telleth vs, that there be some men,
 who by some accident have their eyes so depressed and
 darkened, that they doe imagine themselves to see in the aire
 neerevnto them as in aglasse, their owne proper and bodily
 figures, which dooth astonish and amaze them so much, or
 more, then as if they had seene their owne proper shadowes, or
 their spirites abstracted from their bodies. G4 Next to these are
 such as are squint or bleere-eied: for they have their sight very
 weake a and they can not well see or discerne anything, except it
 be neere at hand: or else they must help to strengthen their
 sight with spectacles. G5 The Latines (as Festus writeth) did
 name them Lusciosos, and the Greekes [Greek omitted], as if a
 man should say, The eyes of a flie. And this maladie or infirmitie
 -notes- G1 Of a disease causing darknes or dimnesse of the sight,
 and making it to see two things for one. G2 Lib.1.cap.1.
 Tractat.3. G3 Of swellings in the eyes. G4 Of the yelow Iaudise.
 G5 Of squint eies or bleere eies.

Page 196

may very well come by accident: And it is principally incident to
 them that doe vse night and day to handle Bookes, and such as
 be studious. For these persons afarre off wil take many times,
 white for blacke, and black for white: And they will be sometimes
 so deceived, that themselves will be ashamed to tell what they
 imagined themselves to have seene. And what shall wee say to
 those men, who casting their eyes a long time vpon some
 sensible things that are excellent, will have their sense so
 dimmed and confounded, as they will see nothing truly. G1 It is a
 thing most certaine, and a maxime in naturall philosophie, That

anie sensible object which is exceedingly excellent, dooth
 destroy, dull, and hurte the sense being lesse excellent. And for
 experience touching the sense of Hearing. Those which doe
 inhabite at the Head or Sauls of the river Nylus, do become
 deafe, by reason of the great noyse which the water maketh in
 descending from the steepe rockes and high mountaines: so the
 musique of the Lute is lesse vnderstoode and perceived by the
 eare, when the strings are stricken with a rude, rather than with
 a tender and gentle stroke.G2 The sound of a Bell, or some other
 such violent and lowde sound carried through the concavities and
 hollownesse of the eare, destroyeth the melodious sound of the
 Lute or of the Harpe, so as it shall be lesse discerned and
 vnderstoode. The like may we say of the Touch and of the sight;
 the which if they be opposed and presented to any sensible
 object that excelleth, will loose their proper and naturall
 functions.G3 And as concerning the sense of Touching. It is
 soone hurt and corrupted, either by an out ward and externall
 stupidity and senslesnesse of the members, or by some great
 and extreame benumbing, or by exceeding distemperature of
 heate or colde. Thence it proceedeth, that those which be very
 hote will esteeme colde things to be hote: And they which are
 attainted with the colde, will deeme all things to be colde, for
 that generally throughout all the -notes- G1Of the senses hurt by
 the excellencie of the subiect. Sensibile excellens lædit sensum.
 G2Of the hearing. G3Of the touching. Hæmodia Torpor sluper,
 tactut officium quia excellunt Galeum libr.1. de semptorum
 causis.

Page 197

parts of their body, their Feeling is corrupted by a more strong
 and violent object: And so for the sight; It is manifest, that long
 looking vpon a white, or a bright greene shining colour, we will
 imagine afterwards, that all we see is white, or greene.G1 And
 the white hath this property, that it scattereth and dissipateth
 the sight: insomuch, that those who travel over the high
 mountains, will perceive their sight to be dimmed and weakened
 by reason of the snowe which they see continually before them.
 G2 Moreover, Aristotle saith, that they which doe look stedfastly
 vpon the sunne, or any other cleere thing that is lively and bright
 shining, and do afterwards turne their eyes apart to any other
 thing, they will thinke all things which doe first present
 themselves before their eyes, to be yellow: and those which they
 see next after them, they thinke to be red: And last of all, others
 they deeme to be of a blacke and darke colour, till such time as
 they be vanished quite out of their sight. And if they have
 continued any long time opposed against the Sun, so much the

longer will the dimnesse and darkenesse of their sight continue; because the same hath beene touched more lively and forcibly with the brightnes of the Sunne-beames, then otherwise it would have beene. And there have beene many, who by holding their eyes too too ardently fixed vpon the Sunne in his brightnes, have had their sight exceedingly scattered and troubled. To some also it hath bin inioyned for a punishment and torment (as namely to Regulus the Roman) to gaze vpon the glorious light of the Sunne, without being suffered to wincke and shutte his eyes.^{G3} And we reade moreover in the history of the Greek Emperours, that the cruel and inhumane Emperour Emannell, did cause the Venetian Ambassadour Henry Danitolo, to loose the vse of his sight, by setting neere vnto his eyes, a brazen bason burning hote and sparkling with fire the which did so darken and blinde his sight, that hee could never after see clearly, but became squint eyed, and to looke cleane awry. -notes- ^{G1}Of the sight. ^{G2}De somno and vigil. ^{G3}Baptista Egnatius. Contarenus, Sabellicus, Bembus de hist. Venetorum.

Page 198

And to come from the sight to the sense of hearing: It is most sure, that besides that, the excellencie of the object may impaire and hurt it: it may also be corrupted and altered by sicknes, when the Cartilage (which is very tender, and whereof the principall cause of the hearing doth depend) shall bee hindered and stopped with any slymie and thicke clammie humour; the which doth sometimes so sticke and cleave together therein, and that in such aboundance, as it bringeth and causeth an entyre and absolute deafenes.^{G1} And sometimes, when this humour doth not so exceedingly abound, then it maketh men deafe, onely so as they cannot vnderstand, except a man doe speake vnto them with a very lowde and high voyce, with his mouth put close vnto their cars. And such may (by reason of their hearing violated and corrupted) oftentimes thinke, that they heare a buzzing or whistling winde, a trembling and shaking of flaming fire, a trilling noyse of some running fountaines, and the roaring of some violent water-course: At other times they suppose that they heare the sound of some melodious instruments of musicke; and at other times the sound and ringing of bells, although indeede they heare no such matter. So likewise, when the exterior object of the sense of hearing doth excell, then also without all doubt, for the reasons afore alleadged, is the hearing thereby offended no lesse then is the sight by any exceeding lively and bright shining cleerenesse. Whereof we have before yeelded an example in those that inhabite at the head or saults of Nilus; who became deafe by hearing continually and without

ceasing, the noyse of the water falling from the mountaines. And this is yet more manifest, in that if a man doe cause any violent or cracking noyse to sound neere vnto ones eares: Or if wee doe goe into a Steeple or Tower to heare the sounding and ringing of any great bells, our eare will have a kinde of tingling or ringing in it a long time after, and the hearing for a time, will thereby become as if it were deafe. -notes- G1Of the natural causes corrupting the hearing, and causing deafnes.

Page 199

But as touching the tingling of the cares; it is oftentimes caused without any exteriour sound offending the hearing: For sometimes it proceedeth of a certaine boiling vp, or overflowing of the blood, which striketh and riseth vp into the face, and by an excessive shamefastnes seazing on the partie, doth empurple, and die, or colour the face blood red. G1 The which thing the learned Sapphe, did not forget in saying; [Greek omitted]. That is, Suddainely a subtile fire did mount and runne round about my flesh. And afterwards he addeth [Greek omitted]. That is, I see nothing with my eyes, and yet mine eares do tingle. And Catullus hath the same in these verses of his: *Linguas Torpet: tenues sub artus, Flamma Demanat, sonito suapte Tiniunt aures, gemina teguntur Lumina nocte.* And it seemeth in my opinion (saving the better iudgement of men more learned then my selfe) that this Poet did not well vnderstand the meaning of Sapphe, who did not intend any amorous flame, but the subtile and warme blood that doth die the countenance and maketh it so red, that the sight hath thereby a suffusion for a while, and the eares do tingle with it. And this is very ordinarie and naturall in shame-facde persons, and to such, as being in the presence of their mistrisses, dare not speake vnto them; but doe stand as having lost their senses, and do blush all over as red as fire. There is also another tingling of the eare, whereof because there can be no reason yeelded, (as there is of the former,) it is therefore esteemed to bee ominous. And the Antients did imagine (as we do yet at this day) that when the eare tingleth or burneth, and no naturall cause appeareth why it shoulde so doe, that then some body is talking of vs in our absence.G2 And so much testifieth that Epiramme which the learned Ioseph Scaliger hath taken -notes- G1Of the tingling and ringing in the eares, and the causes therof. G2In *Cata: Lect: Virgil.*

Page 200

out of the auntient Reliques, and olde hand-written bookes.
Garrula quid tot is resonas mihi noctibus Auris? Neseis quem

dicis, nunc meminisse mei. Now as the Hearing and the Sight may be corrupted and depraved, so may the Taste be also. G1 For as we see, that there be in the tongue two veines, which doe continually engender and beget a kinde of humiditie and moisture, whereof proceedeth the taste: So, when this moisture is corrupted in the mouth of such as labour or bee sicke of a Fever, or any other disease, the savour and taste of their meates will never taste aright vnto them. For if you should give vnto some sicke persons, the most pleasant and sweetest wine that a man could choose; yet it would be as bitter and vnsavorie vnto them as Rubarbe. And let them sup or take a taste of an excellent Cullisse or of a Gelley, or of any good broth; it will seeme vnto them to be very vnpleasing and vnsavorie. Neverthelesse, that proceedeth either of the wine, or of the default of the Cooke, in not well seasoning and preparing the Cullisse, the Gelley, or the broth; but onely it commeth of the pallate and taste altered by reason of the sicknesse. And whereof (trow yee) doth it come, that the taste hath of it selfe sometimes a feeling of a savour which is not but onely by meanes of the evill complexion of the sicke partie, who savoureth things like vnto the sicknes wherewith hee is possessed? If it be a cholericke humor that aboundeth and over-ruleth in him, hee will feelee nothing but bitterness in his palate: if it be any sharpe humour, all things will taste in his mouth sharpe and biting: if the humour be sweete, his taste will relish all things sweetes and so of all other savours it will be the like. And if it hap. pen that this evill complexion in the diseased, doe grow to be any thing strong vpon him; then, whatsoever hee shall eate and take into his mouth, will be like in taste, to the savour that is inwards and within him. And we see, that the Phisitians doe sometimes iudge of the maladies -notes- G1Of the Taste corrupted by sundry infirmities.

Page 201

to come, by the savours which they doe smell to proceede from the interiour or inward parts vnto the pallate of such persons as are full and repleate with evill and vndigested humours: And according to these savours, they will know what humour doth most offend and abound; and thereafter will they ordaine and compound their medicines, to take away that humor which is disposed and ready prepared (as it were) to shew forth it malitious effects outwardly. To make short, the smell is also corrupted when any rheume distilling from the braine, doth stop and stuffe vp the nose; so as both the mouth and the nose, are sometimes therewithall infected: and the two Almonds within the mouth, and the uvula are altered. G1 This maladie the Greekes

call [Greek omitted], the Latines Gravedo.^{G2} And they which are attainted therewithall, have not their smelling sound nor perfect, no more then as if they had the disease in the nostrills called Polipe, by which the smelling is altogether hindered. ^{G3} For it is most certaine, that let any man present vnto them the best odors and perfumes that may be; yet will they never pierce sensibly into the inner part of the braine: neither do they take any more pleasure in them, then as if they smelt nothing at all: And (which is more) all thinges seeme to scent il vnto them, both externall and internally, albeit no sensible object be presented vnto them. To this Heavinesse, or Stuffing in the Head, (for so is this disease called) I will adde the Hicke vppe, a kind of disease that raigned not long since, not only in this realm of Fraunce, but almost throughout all Europe, as in Italy, in Flaunders, in Almaine, and other Countries farther off. ^{G4} For the Hickevppe hath in a manner all the effectes that the former disease hath which wee called the Heavinesse or Stuffing of the head: And the Symptomes thereof are so strange and woonderfull, that Fernelius a most excellent Physition (who sawe this maladie to raigne in his time,) hath put it amongst those diseases that have their -notes- ^{G1} Of the Smell corrupted by divers maladies. ^{G2} The English, the heavinesse of the head. ^{G3} The Poets do many times take the discase Polipus, for the stench or corruption of the nostrills, as Herace in many places. ^{G4} Of the disease called Coqueluche or the Hicke-vppe.

Page 202

causes secret and concealed, and which God hath sent for a marke and token of his wrath and indignation. Howbeit that very few have died of this maladie, notwithstanding that it was infectious. But that which did most manifestly discover the malignitie thereof, was, that there was no parte of the body whereinto it pierced not: nor no sense which it did not possesse: insomuch that the sight, the hearing, the taste, and the smelling didde feelee the force thereof. The eyes and the hearing, by meanes of the rheume that distilled vpon their Organs: And the smelling and taste, for that the Hickevppe, participating of the nature of the heavinesse or stuffing of the head, did infect the tongue, and the Almondes and stopped the nostrilles. And because this malady did reach vnto the throate also, and did make the voyce hoarse and distempered, I do imagine that the name thereof was not newly given it, but was invented long before the same came to be so evidently seene and tried both in Fernetius his time, as also in ours. For I suppose the name thereof to be derived from the Greek [Greek omitted], that is, The feare of the Woolfe.^{G1} The common opinion is, that when a

Woolfe first seeth a man, before the man see him, he dooth draw from him such an exhalation, and sendeth foorth, I knowe not what, infection from his eyes that pierceth even to the throate of the man, and doth make him hoarse in such sorte, that the voyce cannot issue from him, but with an exceeding shortnesse of winde, as if the feare and terror of the Woolf had bin the cause thereof. And hereof dooth Theocritus speake, [Greek omitted]; that is to say, Hast thou seene the Woolfe that thou speakest not? And Virgil saieth, Lupi Moerim vidêre priores. But to drawe to an ende of this discourse of the senses corrupted. G2 I may not by the way lette passe that which the Civilians have affirmed vppon this subiect touching the corporall maladies of servantes and slaves which are redhibitory by the Edict of the Roman Magistrates called Ediles Curules. And first of all concerning the sight; -notes- G1The worde Coqueluche whence derived. G2Of diseases in servantes or slaves bought and sold, which shall make the sale voyd, and which not.

Page 203

They say, that hee which seeth more, or better in the night than in the open daylight (whom the Greekes call [Greek omitted], and whereof we have before spoken) is to be reputed maladiſſe and diseased, and may therefore be rendred and restored backe againe to the seller, and that the contract or sale of him formerly made shal remaine void, disannulled and annihilated. G1 And he also which is squint eyed or bleere eyed, and such a one as seeth little or nothing, the light being set before him; or hee which cannot see perfectly and cleerely, as well in the evening as in the plaine and open daylight (which malady the Greeks call [Greek omitted]) is within the compasse of the same consideration. As concerning the sense of hearing there is no redhibition: but a man may have his remedy according to the authority of the same Civilians, by an Action of Achest or Sale, which they call Actione empti. G2 But touching the sense of smelling, the case is otherwise. G3 For if within the nose there doe growe any carnositie or lumpe of flesh, which the Greekes do call [Greek omitted], whereby the functions and actions of the sense of smelling shalbe hindered and impeached, they holde for a most certayne ground in Lawe, that this is a corporall maladie, which may breake off and annihilate the contract of the sale afore concluded. And that this is a very disease and malady Cornelius Celsus dooth shew most plainly by the description thereof in this maner. G4 The disease Polipus (saith he) is a carnositie, sometimes white, sometimes red, the which sticketh vnto the nostrilles, and doth sometimes hang vppon the vpper lippe, and both filleth and stoppeth the nose, and sometimes it dooth fall

downe by the passages where a man hath his breathing and respiration: sometimes it dooth growe and increase in such sorte as it breedeth and ingendreth a great bunch or lump of flesh, which dooth strangle and choake the partie: especially when the Southerne and Easterne windes doe raigne: And such a lumpe of flesh is most commonly softe and tender, but very rarely and seldome is it harde. But I -notes- G1L. Idem Officilius D. de Edilibus Edict. G2Libr.3: and 4.D. codem. G3Li. qui clavum habet D.codem. G4The description of the disease Polipus. In libr. de Medicinis.

Chapter 10

Page 204

may not forget this one thing, that the sense of sinelling is sometimes corrupted and perished by an extrcame Stuffing of the Head; like as the sense of touching is corrupted by the Palsey.G1 The which dooth make a kind of insensibilitie in the sinewes, and in the other members, wherein the touching consisteth, and doth disperse and intermingle it throughout all the partes of the bodie. But wee will now proceede to speake of the fantasie corrupted by divers Accidents both of fevers and other diseases, as also by melancholy and other kindes of frensie. That the fantasie corrupted doth receive many false Impressious and Specters, aswell as the senses. Chap. 10. Like as the fantasie being sound and entire dooth voluntarily fitte and accommodate her selfe, in following her owne naturall, to worke and imprint in the minde of man by way of impression a thousand cogitations of diverse and sundry sortes, and to tickle and delight it selfe with such idle conceipts as shall be most pleasing and agreeable vnto it selfe. So likewise doth it imprint in it selfe many things by reason of Maladies, Fevers, Melancholies, Doatings, and Frensies, and then it communicateth them vnto the minde, though they be nothing else but meerely false imaginations, and foolish and vaine apprehensions of sickely, melancholike and frantike persons.G2 That this may the better be perceived, it is to be noted, that there be three sortes of distractions of the minde according to Celsus. G3 The first commeth of the Phleugme or Inflammation -notes- G1The sense of smelling corrupted and destroyed by the stuffing of the head. The sense of touching corrupted and destroyed by the Palsey. G2Of the sundry sorts of distractions of the minde. G3Lib.3.cap.18.

Page 205

on of the braine, having a great and strong fever alwaies ioyned with it, and is called by the Greeke, Phrenetis. The second hath a light kind of fever, cōming by distance of the times, and proceedeth of the aboundaunce and ill Corruption of the blood. And the third is without any fever, but of long continuance as is the frensie and melancholy, which the Phisitions Aetius, Alexander, Trallianus, Paulus and Rasis doe write to be continually without any fever. Those persons which have their mindes alienated and distempered by reason of that phleugme or Inflammation of the Braine, according to the disposition of the diverse membranes and ventricles of the brain, where the naughtie and corrupt blood dooth stay and abide; so doe they also finde diversity of Symptomes and accidents. G1 When the ventricle before is offended, then are the senses hurt and offended, but yet the fantasie dooth remaine sound and vntainted: And vpon this poynt doth Galen recount an history of a certaine Phisition named Theophilus, who in his sickenes was very wise and discreete as touching all other matters, saving one onely heereafter mentioned. G2 And hee did very well knowe and discern his friendes, and all other sortes of persons that came to visite him: neverthesse hee was held with such a fond and idle conceipt, that hee imagined, that certaine players on Flutes and Cornets had taken vp a place in his chamber neere vnto the bed where hee lay, and that they did daily and hourcly continue playing and sounding into his eares: And which is more marvellous, hee imagined that hee sawe some of them sitting, and others standing: And so strongly was this Phisition settled in this strange and fond imagination, that he never ceased day nor night to cry out, and to commaund that those Minstrells should be driven foorth of his lodging. And the same man, after he came to be perfectly cured and healed of his maladie, did well remember what his friendes had both said and done vnto him during his sicknesse, and coulde relate -notes- G1 Of the seases distracted, and not the fantasie. G2 De differentia Symptomatus.

Page 206

all vnto them, without failing in any one word therof: And yet for all that did he continually and constantly persist in affirming that hee had both seene and heard those Minstrelles; and woulde shew howe troublesome they were vnto him, though the same were a meere and false imagination. Now when the membrane in the midst of the braine is offended: then is the fantasie stricken and wounded, but the senses doe remaine sound and entire. G1 Of this doth Nemesis a Bishoppe yeelde vs an example, in a certaine fellowe that dwelt and wrought with a Clothworker. The

foolish fellow one day leaping from his work, came to a window that looked out into the streete: and taking certaine glasses into his hand, hee demaunded of them that passed by, if hee should cast them downe, or no? and saide, Shall I cast them here, or there? The passengers aunswered him presently, and bade him that hee should cast them downe, which hee did: Afterwardes he asked them, if he should cast the Clothworker downe also? They thinking that hee had meant some jeast or merriment, saide; That they were contented: Immediately this franticke fellow beganne to take the good man of the house by the middle of the body, and so cast him out of the windowe downe into the streete. Nowe hee had his senses perfect and sound: for hee knew well that the glasses which hee cast downe, were glassess and that the Clothworker was a Clothworker: neverthelesse he hadde not his reason and vnderstanding sound and perfect. But now, if the hindermost ventricle of the braine bee offended, then onely is the memory lost and perished, but neither the senses nor the fantasie are altered. G2 But if both the forepart, the middle, and the hinder parte of the braine be hurt and offended with any frantique humour; then is both the memory, the sense, and the fantasie perished and exempted. The most memorable historie that can be recounted touching this poynt, is that -notes- G1Of the fantasie distracted, and not the senses. Lib.de natura hominss. G2Of the memorie distracted, and not the senses nor the fantasie. Messala and Trapezuntius by long sickenes lost the remembrance of all things.

Page 207

which I remember I have read in certaine Greeke Authors, who for the testifying thereof, doe cite the Historiographer Timens, who doth assure it for a certainty, that in Agrigentum, a Towne of Sicilia, there was a house which was called the Galley, by reason of this accident that happened in it.G1 Certaine young men foolishly disposed, went into this house, and commanded that their dinner should there bee provided and made readie for them: and as they were in the midst of their dinner, and each inviting and egging one another to carowse and drinkefreely, they became to bee so warmed and chafed in their harnesse of liquor, that they fell suddainely into such a frensie, as they imagined themselves to bee vpon the sea in a Galley: and that the sea being enraged with the windes, and the waves thereof swelling most violently, did carrie their Galley floting to and fro, hither and thither. For this cause, as they beganne to conceive a feare of suffering shipwracke, so did they labour and bestirre themselves to cast out into the streete, (as if it had beene into the sea) whatsoever came to their hands, table, tressells,

stooles, pots, trenchers, bed-steedes, cups, glasses, and such like, making thereby great sport and pastime to such as being below, came running thither of all sides, as vnto common largesse, to take that which they threw downe into the streete. The next day, the Magistrates of the Towne assembled together, and entred into the house where this good busbandrie had been shewed, and did very sharpely reprove these young gallants: but they being not as yet thoroughly wakened out of their frantike sitte, aunswered; that they would sooner make choice to cast away any thing into the sea, even all that they had in their Galley, rather than they would perish and be cast away themselves by shipwracke. Nowe as every man began to wonder at this their blockish senselesnesse, and to see both their memory and fantasie so farre out of frame: The greatest parte of these frantique youths beganne to speake severally vnto the magistrates, -notes- G1Of the senses, fantasie, and memory altogether corrupted and distracted.

Page 208

and said; You my Maisters the Tritons, when the tempest was most violent and extreame, doe you know what I did the whilst? I (quoth one of them) for feare did get me vnder the hatches: and I (said another) did hide my selfe close in a coiner of the ship vpon these and such like speeches they seemed to the whole company to be out of their wits, which made the Magistrates (as they were readie to leave them and to depart away,) only to give them a gentle admonition, that they did not any more commit such follies. But they, as if they would have yielded them thanks for heir good counsell, answered the Magistrates as they were going away: you my maisters the Tritons, if wee can possibly get into any good haven or harbour after this tempest is once past, we will proinise vnto you faithfully, and doe make a solemne vow, that when we come into our owne Country, wee will erect statues vnto you, as vnto the gods of the sea, that have helped and succoured vs. Without all doubt, these foolish young men were not onely deprived of their naturall and common sense: but they were also wounded in their imaginative power, and in their memory likewise, neither knowing who themselves were, nor what they did. G1 Now the principall ma ke of the Phrensie, is, that in the declining and departing of the Fever, (as Galen writeth) the dotage and idle conceipt, is not any thing the more taken away, but doth still perseuer and continue: because that the braine being once hurt and offended, doth not easily come againe to it former estate and temper. G2 And this is the cause why some, both of the antient and moderne Phisitians, have confounded with that

phrensie which proceedeth from the braine, that also which hath it originall from the lower part of the breast, which the Latines call Septum Transversale; and the Greeks (as Homer amongst others) do name [Greek omitted]. Sure it is that Plato doth put this lower part of the breast, as a bound betweene the part Irascible, and the Appetitive -notes- G1The especiall and chiefe marke of the Phrensie. Lib.5.de locis effect:cap.3. G2Of the difference beetweene the Phrensie proceeding from the brain, and that which commeth from the lower part of the breast.

Page 209

part in man, in such sort, as the same should participate both of the one and the other: And that therefore, when it doth once by any hote and distempered humor, send vp her fumes into the braine, it doth never faile to trouble and confound the imagination; or (that I may speake as Aristotle doth) [Greek omitted].G1 And surely there is not any great difference betweene that and the Phrensie, that commeth from the braine: for both of them are of long continuance, neither doth any of them end with the ending and departure of the Fever. Now this is not so in those idle conceits and apprehensions that proceede from any vicious or corrupted humour, settled in the mouth or entrie of the Ventricle, or of any hote Fevers: or by reason of some Pleuresie, or such like infirmitie, because those do grow to be mitigated and asswaged as soone as the maladie is appeased. But as touching that Phrensie that proceedeth from the lower part of the breast, (or Sept Transversall) the which receiveth a hote and distempered humour, and so troubleth the minde. G2 There is an historie in Lucian, which relateth, how that the inhabitants of Abdera, in a certaine time of extreame and fervent heate, being assembled to have a tragedy acted by Players on a Theater, and having staled to heare it longer, then willingly they would have done, they fell all of them into a hote burning Fever, which declined into a verie Frensie, such as made them to doe nothing all day long, but sing and chaunt tragicall verses, as if they themselves had beene playing vpon the Theater. Assuredly this follie of the Abderitanes, proceeded not so much of the braine, as from the Transversall parts of the breast: to the which, some extreame hote humour once cleaving and adhering, did cause and engender a franticke Fever; the which though it were asswaged and appeased, yet for all that did not the maligne effects thereof cease, but endured a long time after the Fever. Whereas, if such an idle and foolish conceit had proceeded onely of some hote Fever, or other such like -notes- G1De partibus Animal. G2Quomodo scribenda historia.

accidents of sicknesse (whereof we have before spoken) then would it have ceased and discontinued, as the Fever did decline and decease: and it would not have remained any longer in the braine, then as a cause of the infirmitie and disease. But this shall suffice to be spoken as concerning the Frensie, and such foolish conceits as are incident to them that are troubled with the Fever. We will now come to intreate of the furious Melancholy or Madnesse, and of the causes thereof. To say the trueth, the furie Melancholie, dooth take his originall principally of a blacke cholerike humour, which is exceeding sharpe and biting: or rather of a kinde of blacke corrupt blood, like (as Galen saith) to that pitch or Bitumme which is bred in Iudea, and is much more bright and shining then the pure blood.^{G1} The words of Galen are, [Greek omitted].^{G2} And in another place hee saith farther: "That this blacke and cholericke blood is so colde and liquid, that it can never settle nor fasten together: and it is so sharpe and biting, as any viniger. ^{G3} And like as (so saith Galen in another place) in the dead sea of Iudea, where that Bitumen groweth, no creature can live: So this blood is so sharpe and biting, that no man can suffer and indure it, but that his braine will be altered and distempered with it." And commonly the accidents do follow the nature of such a blood.^{G4} For like as by the blacknes therof, it doth symbolize and in a sort refemle the darknesse (so saith Hypocrates:) In like sort, neither more nor lesse do melancholique persons love solitarinesse and horreur, as Belephoron: who (as Homer writeth) had beene so stirred with melancholie, as he fled and abandoned the company of men, wandring vp and downe through the fields and desarts.^{G5} And as the darkenes of the night, doth yeelde feare and terroure, not onely to children, but even to them which are of ripe and older yeares: So doth the humour of Melancholij, fright and terrifie men without -notes- ^{G1}Of the Melancholike Fury or Madnesse, and the originall causes thereof. ^{G2}[Greek omitted]. Lib.4.Aphr:23 ^{G3}De atra Bile. ^{G4}De Insania. ^{G5}Iliad:3.

any occasion: and it engendreth a thousand false imagitions in the braine, no lesse troubling and obscuring it with foolish visions, then the night doth deceive the eyes of men, who in the darknesse thereof, doe mistake one thing for another. And for this cause, men that are melancholicke, are called of the Latines Imaginosi: that is to say, Phantastike. The which I have observed in Catullus, who speaketh of a certaine foolish and phantastike maiden, saith; Non est sana puella: nec rogare

qualis sit: solet hac imaginosum. I know that some learned Civillians of our time, have corrected this word Imaginosum otherwise: but I am of the opinion of Ioseph Sealiger, who hath not altered the auntient word, but hath so left it, as of the best correction in his first lesson. But to returne vnto Melancholike persons: although feare and sadnes doth seldome or never forsake the most part of them: so it is notwithstanding, that they are not all of one kinde. G1 For some there have beene (as Galen saith) who have imagined themselves to bee an earthen pot, and for that cause, have drawne backe and out of the companie of men, for feare of being broken. Others have been in a feare lest the Mountaine of Atlas, (which is said to sustaine and beare vp the whole world) should fall vpon them and over-whelme them. Others againe, have imagined themselves to be Cockes, and have imitated them in their voyce, their crowing, and the clapping of their wings: some of them desire death, and yet flie from it: others have slaine and tumbled themselves desperately head-long into some deepe pits or wells, as did Peter Teon the Phisitian, vpon a melancholike humour, because he could not cure Laurence de Medicis, (as both Paulus Iovius, and Sannazar doe testifie.) Besides, some there have beene, who have imagined that they have had no head: (as Hypocrates writeth hee knew such a one,) to whom for a remedie, he applyed and fastned a heauey peece of lead vpon his head, because hee should thereby feelee that hee had a head. Others againe have -notes- G1Of the divers and sundry sorts of melancholike persons.

Page 212

shunned and abhorred all sorts of liquor; as water, wine, oyle, and such like things. They which are bitten with a mad dogge, do endure such a kind of passion; and the Greekes call it Hydrophobie, in regard they feare the water. G1 And Ruffus the Phisition alleadged by Paulus Egineta writeth, that the cause why they (which are bitten with a mad-dogge) do feare the water, is, because they imagine, that they doe see in the water, the specter and image of that dogge which hath bitten them. G2 And Averrois telleth one thing that is verie strange and admirable, (if so be it bee true:) that in the vrine of such a one, in the bubbles thereof are to be seene, as if there were little dogges: so great force and puissance (saith he) hath the imagination vpon the humors of the body. G3 And as touching the specter and image of a dogge which they see, who grew mad by being so bitten, I remember that a certaine Greeke Poet also maketh mention thereof, the which in my younger yeeres I indeuoured my selfe to translate, and I inserted it in my poeticall workes that are

printed: the French verses are to this effect: A man that is bitten by a dog mad enraged, As soone as he feeleth the worme stinging him in the head, Men say, that he sees within the water formed, Abeast, whose feare pricks him, and makes him wholly altred. To make short, others there bee that imagine themselves to bee Woolves, and they will leape out of their beds in the night time, and runne out of their houses howling as Woolves, (and even till the day beginne to appeare) they will remaine in the Church-yardes, and about the graves and sepulchres of the dead, as the same Egineta writeth of them. G4 And this affection or maladie the Greeks call Lycantropie, whereof we will speake more largely heereafter. G5 And to draw to an end of this Discourse of Melancholie, it is to be vnderstoode, that sometimes it is engendred in the braine, by meanes that the veines are polluted -notes- G1Lib.5.cap.3. G2Men bitten with a mad dogge, why they shunne the water. G3Lib. 7. Epigra: Gracor. G4Lib.3.cap.16. G5The furious Melancholie, whence it is engendred.

Page 213

and defiled with a kinde of blacke cholerike blood: And sometimes it groweth in the braine of it selfe, though the blood be not vniversally touched therewithall: and this is done when by reason of the heate of the braine, the blood becommeth more thicke and blacke then is vsuall: And sometimes it commeth also of the stomacke.G1 Now the perturbation of the intellectuall part comming from the stomacke; either it proceedeth of that which the Latines call Abdomen, and the Arabians and Abenzoar doe call Mirach: or else from some strong and violent heate, exhalated from some principall member, or from some impostume or inflammation, made within that part of the entrailes which lieth neere vnto the stomacke, and by the Greekes is named [Greek omitted]. G2 The which is confirmed also by Galen, who writeth that, [Greek omitted].G3 Or else it proceedeth of the immoderate heate of the veines, called Meseraiques, by reason of the obstruction wrought in them by some thicke and grosse blood.G4 Now (as Abenzoar saith) this heate is externall, and hindreth and impeacheth the operations of the naturall heate; by reason that the naturall heate maketh the concoction and digestion of the meate: but that which is externall and accidentall doth burne and convert it into ill Fumes. And of those vapours and fumositie dooth ensue a troubling and distraction of the minde diversly, according to the diversities of the fumes and windes that doe arise; and according to the differences of their kinds each in severall, as they are more or lesse either grosse or subtile, or hote, or warme betweene hote

and colde. And the same Abenzoar sheweth, how hee cured one that was sicke of melancholy, through the causes above mentioned, who one day would have made or baked a batch of bread within a pit, and had caused a quantitie of meale to bee bought and provided to that effect, and commaunded his servants to cast it into the pit: which they refusing to doe, hee beat them with a cudgell, and constrained -notes- G1The furious melancholy, whence it is engendred. G2Tract.9.cap.9. libr.1. G3Lib.3.de locis Affect.cap.4. G4Tract.9.

Page 214

them to doe it, and then himselfe went downe into the pit and baked or kneaded his meale: and calling vnto him his nearest and most familiar friendes, hee prayed them to eate of the bread which he had baked. But they fearing that in thend he would kil himself, caused him to be bound, and so ledde him to Abenzoar, who restored him to his former health. This sorte of vaporous and windie melancholy is called by the Greekes, Galen, and Hippocrates, [Greek omitted], that is, a third kinde of melancholy. G1 And with this disease dooth something participate that which is called Ephialte, or Incubus, whereof Paulus Egineta (whome wee before cited) doth write in this manner; The Ephialte or Incubus is so named (as some suppose) of a certaine man that had that name; or else, for that they which are taken with that disease, doe imagine themselves to be assailed and invaded by some spirite. G2 Neverthesse Themison in the twelfth booke of his Epistles dooth name it [Greek omitted], because it stoppeth and choketh vp the stomach and the speech. This disease is bredde and engendred by overmuch excesse of drinking, and by a continuall and long cruditie or rawenesse of the stomacke. A great difficulty of breathing doth alwayes attend and accompany them which are surprised therewith: and they have their senses wholly as it were confounded and besotted. In their sleepe they have an imagination that they are even strangled or choaked; and that they feele a kinde of maladie sodainly comming and seizing vpon them. And more than so, their voyce for the time is suppressed and taken away, and they can not be vnderstoode plainely or distinctly, but as if they stammered; by reason that to their seeming they imagin some man or woman of an exceeding great and wonderfull stature dooth stop their mouth for feare they should cry. They moove their armes and their legges to and fro in their bedde, thinking so to chase and drive them away, but all in vaine. And especially they perswade themselves, that they heare them speake vnto -notes- G1Lib.3.de locis Affect. De Insania. G2Lib.3 cap.15. Of the disease called Incubus or the

Night Mare, and the cause thereof, and that it something participateth with the former kinde of melancholy.

Page 215

them: and that they are enticed and solicited by them to the acte of venery: that they mount and climbe vp vpon their bed very softly, and as though they were laying an ambuscado for them: and that then by little and little they come to fall and descend vpon them, at such time as these patients have closed their handes, not able any longer to resist them. This kinde of maladie or mischiefe (sayth Egineta) ought to have remedy provided for it at the very beginning: for if it once take footing, and do continue so to suffocate and choake the party in the night: It betokeneth some great and notable evill to ensue, as an Apoplexie, and Epilepsie, or the disease called Saint Iobns Evill. Next after melancholy commeth to bee considered, Madnesse and Frantike Fury, which sometimes is engendred of an exceeding great abundance of blood vncorrupted, which piercing and entring into the braine, doth trouble and disturbe it, as the vapours of wine intemperately taken doe trouble the vnderstanding.^{G1} Sometimes also it commeth of the choler mingled with the blood. ^{G2} Those madde men, by reason of the abundance of their blood, doe laugh continually, and are in a very pleasant and merry vaine: and they have a thousand Images and ridiculous phantosmes that do vncessantly present themselves vnto their minde: most commonly they will be singing of songs which they have formerly learned: which sheweth that their memorie is not altered within them. And sometimes by reason of the vapours that do mount and strike vp into their braine: they imagine that they doe heare some playing on flutes, or acting of Tragedies, as did that fellow of Abydos (of whome Aristotle speaketh) who would continue and abide all day sitting at the Theatre, where the publique playes were shewed and acted: notwithstanding that the Theatre was emptie, and the Players did not then play at all.^{G3} And yet would he testifie the great pleasure and delight which he tooke by the clapping of his handes, and by showtings -notes- ^{G1}Of madnesse, and the causes thereof. ^{G2}Of madnesse growing thorough abundance of blood troubling the brain. ^{G3}[Greek omitted]

Page 216

and other signes of ioy, no lesse than as if the best and most excellent Tragedy or Comedy had bin in playing.^{G1} The same dooth the Poet Horace write of one that was borne at Argos, who didde the like: And when his parents and neerest friendes and kinsfolkes, who were carefull of his health, had gotten him

recovered and cured by meanes of some medicaments, and by the help of Helleborus ordained and prepared for him by the Physitians: hee tooke it very grievously when hee sawe himselfe so returned vnto himselfe: and no body could hinder him from exclaiming and crying out against them, saying, Alas, my friendes, you have in saving me, Destroyed and vndone me vtterly; In forcing me to leave that pleasing error, Wherein my minde did take delight and pleasure. Atheneus writeth of one Thrasyllas, who had his mind so depraved and disturbed, that hee imagined all the shippes which arrived at the haven of Pirouus in Athens to be his owne; and hee would be continually counting and numbring of them, and would give commaundement to pay the Sailers and Victuallers: And when they returned from any long voyage, hee was no lesse glad and ioyfull of their arrivall, than as if he had beene the true lorde and owner of all the goods and merchandises within them. G2 And the same party did continually afterwarde affirm, that during all the time that hee was taken and possessed with that folly, he did live the sweetest and most pleasant life of the worlde, even till the Physitions had cured and delivered him from the same. I have heard it told by a Gentleman of good credit, who affirmed that himselfe knew one that was Gentleman or Yeoman of the horse to a great lord, who (although in all other his actions, he was reputed a man very discrete and well advised for one of his qualitie) yet had hee his madde and frantike humour; that in a certaine houre of -notes- G1Lib.2.EpiBol. G2Lib.12.Dipnos.

Page 217

the day he would withdraw himselfe into a secret wardrobe, and there sitting him downe in a chaire, he would dispose in order round about him a great number of Staves or Truncheons, which he called his Cardinales, and himselfe he affirmed to be Pope. Of some of those Staves he would aske counsell and advise touching that which hee was to doe: to others hee woulde deliver certaine papers which he called his Bulles: some of them he would depute for his Legates to princes and great estates: others he would send vpon other Commissions: and he was so ravished in this frantique contemplation, that he would not have left that his pleasure for any thing. And yet neverthesse, when this his fantasie was gone and overpast, hee would betake himselfe to his charge, and looke to his horses, so as his Maister was nothing the worse served or attended by him, by reason of that fitte of his frensie. But hee continued so long this his maner and fashion, that his maister in the end had espied it: and having discovered the same, God knoweth what delight and pleasure hee tooke at it: and what sporte hee made when hee woulde tell and declare

it vnto others. This poore Horse-keeper seeing himselfe and his humour discovered, would not abide any longer with his Maister (who knew him to be a very good servant) for any premise or rewarde that hee made or offered vnto him, because hee sawe himselfe to be deprived of his pleasant folly and idlefancie. As touching those mad-men, in whom choler is mingled with blood; they are of a quite different disposition from the former: for they are furious, hardie, iniurious, insolent, and readie to strilce, hurt and wound men.^{G1} And the more that choler doth abound in their braine, the more dangerous and mischeevous they are. And especially when the choler doth boyle and burne in the braine, and commeth to be adust, thicke, and clammie, adhering and sticking to the ryme or skinne of the braine: then they grow so furious, that they differ little or nothing -notes- ^{G1}Of madnesse growing through choler and blood mingled, and disturbing the braine.

Page 218

from wild and mad beasts, in such sort that a man shal see some of them to wound, beat, and outrage themselves, to eate their owneflesh, to pursue even their neere kinsfolkes, friends, and familiars as if they were their greatest enemies. These kinde of furious mad-men, are very frequent and common in the Southerne Countries; yea, even in Italie, towards Abruzzo, Apulia, Calabria, and Naples, where the ayre is more hote then elsewhere. There are to be seene, monasteries, wherein such frantike mad folkes, (whom they call men fettred, or Matide Cadena,) are shut vp and enclosed. In France, which is a Region very temperate, you shall seldome see this kinde of mad-men, who are to be kept vp tyed and bound, as they vse them in Italie, Marecco, Fez, Tremisan, and other countries towards the South. ^{G1}Finally, there be yet besides the former, another sort of mad-men, which have intermissions and times of vacancie from their fits or maladie of madnesse: some of which, have them onely two or three times in the yeere, and others more often, according to the Moones: whom the Greekes, as also the Evangelist Saint Mathew call [Greek omitted]: that is to say, Lunatiques. ^{G2} These, for that they are but seldom and at times taken with their fits of madnes, are called Enthusiastiques; that is, Ful of divine Furis or Fanaticall: in whom the cause of their maladie proceedeth, be cause they abound in heate neere about the Intellectuall part, as Aristotle writeth. ^{G3} Such were the Sibills, and the Bacchantes, or Mimallonides: the Galls and Coribants, who were said to receive some god into their breastes. And those Galls and Corybantes, did at times, and by fits, grow so furious and frantike, as in their furie, they would cut

off their owne genitalls, which Ovid, Catullus, and others doe testifie: like as also the Priests of Baal, and of Isis, would cut, launce, and wound their owne armes and legs with knives as is to be seeene in the bookes of Kings, and in Apuleius. G4 The like at this day doe the Dervises, in Turkie. Of the Corybantes are come these Greeke words; -notes- G1Of lumatikes or madnesse growing by fits at severall times. G2Mat.4.17. G3In Problem. G43.Reg 18 De Asine Aur.

Chapter 11

Page 219

testifying and discovering their passion, [Greek omitted]: that is to say, To Corybantise, to make the leape perillous, to shake the haire or lockes, and (as the common speech is) to nodde or cast the head to the dogges. Of these kindes of persons doth Ulpian speake, where hee decideth it; that those servants which have at any time beene possest with any furious humour offolly, and have vsed to yeelde aunswers neere vnto any Temples, in shaking and nodding their heads as fooles, they are not to be held faultie: and being once bought and sold, they are not subiect to redhibition by the law of the Roman Magistrates Ediles Curules. And this shall suffice to be spoken, both as touching the externall senses corrupted, as also concerning the fantafie altered and offended, or perished by divers accidents of any maladie, either corporall or spirituall. It is now requisite that we ioyne together the senses, both externall and internall, which is the phantasie and imagination: And that we shew what persons are subiect most commonly, to receive aswell in their corporall senses, as in their spirituall, false imaginations and vaine phantosmes, and to have their mindes troubled with madnesse, melancholie, and frensie. CHAP. XI. What persons are most commonly subiect to receive false Imaginations and Phantosmes, and to have the Braine troubled and distr acted. It is commonly seene, that feare doth engender in the hearts of such men as are subiect to fearefull impressions, many false perswasions and wrong imaginations. And for this cause, feareful persons do shew

Page 220

themselves to be trobled in their minds with feare and terror; for that which hath no apparence of truth and veritie. G1 Now there be two forts of fearefull persons: the one of them are so naturally, by reason of the imbecilitie of their age, or of their sexe: The others are accidentally, and by some outward cause; whereof, in part some reason may be yeilded, and yet partly also the same is vnknowne and secret, as being reserved in the

cabinet of the secrets of God himselfe. Amongst those that are by nature fearefull, I may in the first place, put those that are given to be superstitious: notwithstanding, that at the first shew it may bee saide, that superstition is rather an accidentall kinde of feare.G2 But yet, if we regard it more neerely and advisedly, and doe consider that those weaker forts of persons are casily given to be superstitious, (which the Philosophers also doe hold and maintaine:) I doubt not but in the end it will be accorded, that they are to be deemed superstitious, by reason of the imbecillitie of their nature.G3 And therefore we see that women and old men, are more addicted to superstition then any other, because their naturall is more weake, and their forces are lesse assured. I will not say, but that sometimes superstition commeth also by meanes of some externall cause of maladie and sicknesse, or some other such like accident; as that of Bion Boristenites, who comming to be sicke, did so change his opinion even at an instant, that of a meere Atheist, and most prophane wicked person as he was, he became so superstitious, as heewould make many vowes farre vnworthy and vnbeseeming a Philosopher, and tyed bills and scroles about his necke, in hope to finde, by them, recoverie of his health. G4 Now, as the wicked man and Atheist, doth in no fort beleeeve, that there are either good or evill spirits, nor doth apprehend those thinges that are supernaturall: So the superstitious person it too too soone drawne into lightnesse of beliese, and by reaon of the feare which he hath of evill spirits. He faineth -notes- G1Two sorts of fearefull persons. G2Of persons naturally fearefull. G3Of such as are given to bee superstitious. G4Plinius Iunior li.7. Epistolarum.Epist.26. Tum demum (inquit) sumus optimi dum infirmi sumus: beatumq; in posterum and innoxium destinamus vitam.

Page 221

vnto himselfe a thousand foolish and idle fancies and toyes in his braine. And therefore, not without good cause, is superstition named by the Greekes, [Greek omitted], because of the feare of divells, which both Praclus, Plato, Porphirye, Iamblicus, Dion, Lucian, and other Antients do call [Greek omitted] or [Greek omitted].G1 Also those which are attached with this fault and imperfection, doe make themselves beleeeve that they have seene visions, which indeede they have not seene: And sometimes an excessive feare of spirits, will seaze and take hold vpon them, in such a manner, that in the dead and darke horror of the night, they will crosse and marke themselves a thousand times, as if they did see some strange and fearefull sight; and they will abhorre to heare any talke of Divelles, and doe never

sleepe nor rest in quiet, still imagining that a thousand Phantosmes do flie vp and down round about: them. Next after those that bee superstitious, come young children, who (as Aristotle saith) are subiect to this humour, that they perswade themselves they see visions of Specters and Apparitions in the night, though indeede they see nothing. G2 And most commonly they will be so afraide when they awake out of their sleepe, by meanes of the sodaine emotion of the humours, and of the blood descending into the sensitive organs, that (neither more nor lesse than as if they had some suffusion of their eyes,) they will think they have seene some Specters or strange sights presented to them, which for very feare wil make them to cover and hide themselves close vnder the cloths of their bed. And how can it be but that children should perswade themselves of such foolish imaginations and apprehensions in the night, seeing that even in the verie day time a man may make them to beleeeve things meerely false as if they were true and certaine? Againe we see, that sometimes they will fall into such a feare, as they will be ready to swound, and will crie out in their sleepe by night, when they doe but call to their remembraunce the -notes- G1Zelevcus apud stobæum: sermone de legibus. Mali Genii (in quit) a superstitiosis metuuntur G2Of young children. De fomno and vigilia.

Page 222

fcare which they have had in the day time: and (which is more) they will grow to have the Falling-sicknesse, as I have noted in Hippocrates. G1 I have read in Luvater, how in his Countrey of Switzerland, at a certaine time of the yeere, there were some that vsed to disguise and maske themselves in horrible vizards, like vnto divells, onely with an intention to terrifie the little children that were given to be fearefully conceited: and they do make them beleeeve, that they had seene some warre-woolues, fayries, or night-spirits, and such like. And the same which Lavater saith was vsuall in his Countrey, is no more then is seene in France, where mummeries are very common and vsuall in divers Townes, in the forme and habite of spirits and divells. As touching such mummeries, I cannot observe any one more ridiculous, then that maske or monstrous image, which in a certaine Towne of this Realme, (which heere shall be namelesse,) is every yeere carried about, with great solemnitie vpon their festivall daies. It hath a great face and visage, infinitely broad and large, with long and sharpe teeth, and is for that cause called (The olde woman with the great teeth:) But in my iudgement, this is a meere idolatry taken from the Paynims and Gentiles, who had also their Mandurus; which (as Festus

saith,) was a great maske or monstrous picture, vsually carried about in the Procession of their gods, and left not to moove the chaps, and grinde the teeth. But either of those were invented (as I take it) to give cause of laughter to such as were sad and pensive, and to terrifie little children. At Lyons also in France, they have their Machecrouste, little or nothing differiug from the Mandurus, of the Gentiles, which they vse likewise to carrie about the Cittie in great pompe and triumph. The Antients, (as I have observed out of Ausonius,) had certaine such maskes or vgly pictures with three or foure squares; which, on what side soever they were changed and turned, had the figure of a man; not without great admiration to the most advised and assured, and no lesse to the -notes- G1De sacre morbo. De Spectris.

Page 223

fearing and terrifying of little children.G1 Those maskes in Latine are called Oscilla, and in Greeke [Greek omitted]; as if a man should say litle mouthed images, and they were purposely borne hanging in little streamers or banners, which they vsed to shake and moove to and fro: and they might plainely be discerned, in the end, to have the humane shape and forme, though in the agitation and stirring of them, a man would have iudged that they had a thousand faces and countenances. I have seene such kindes of maskes or pictures in the possession of Maister Gaiffior, an advocate in the Court of Parliament, who was a great lover of Antiquities, and one of my very good and dearefriends. Next after infants and little children, come the aged and decrepite old persons, of whom the naturall humor and moisture is well neere spent and consumed, and their braine is become to bee in a manner wasted and dried vp, by reason of their yeeres. G2 To these kinde of folkes it is naturally proper to doate and to be idly conceited, (and as Aristophanes saith) [Greek omitted], which signifieth, to divine and prophecie after the manner of the Sibills, and as being bereaved of their wits and senses.G3 Moreover, olde ageis very apt to faine vnto it selfe, specters and apparitions, either by reason that the braine is offended, or through the weakenesse and imbecillitie of the senses; or by meanes of some other such discommodities and inconveniences, as old age vsually bringeth with it: And God he knoweth, that when old folkes, men or women, doe grow to bee (as it were) children againe, which the Latines doe terme Repuerascere; they bee more childish then very children, according to the Greeke proverbe, [Greek omitted]: insomuch, as they will not sticke to affirme, with all the oathes of the world, things that never were, and which they never knew. And if you would assay to plucke out of their heads, the opinion which they have once conceived of

specters and visions, you should but loose your labour, as in at tempting a thing vnpossible. -notes- G1Oscilla, signifieth faces moving the chaps or mouth in deformed maner, like vizards in a mummerie. G2Of aged persons, and that they are much subiect to feare, and c. G3[Greek omitted].

Page 224

Ierome Cardan rehearseth, how hee knew an olde man, which was so frightened and terrified with the conceit of a false vision, that he could not be made beleewe, but that he had seene a specter, and he died through the feare of that conceit. G1 After children and old folkes, next doe succcede women of all forts, whome Saint Peter in his Canonically epistle, termeth fraile and weake vessells, well knowing the defect and imbecillitie of their courage, and that the same is capable of all manner of feare and perturbation. G2 That was the cause (as Harpoeration writeth) that the Greekes had a law, by the which (for the considerations above expressed) there were perpetuall tutors and overseers ordained and appointed to their women. G3 And in imagination of the same law, was the Customarie law of France, which decreeth, that the wives should be in perpetuall tutelage of their husbands, and that they may not be called into judgment, nor make contracts, nor governe or dispose of their goods, without leave and authoritie of their husbands. And the law of the Romans, in regard of their imbecillitie and naturall frailtie, did make them vncapable to execute any places of charge, either publicke, or civill, and excluded them from being Magistrates and Iudges, and from all maner of plaints, procurations, and intercessions for any other persons, and from accusing and libelling against all such like actions, as also from being arbiters and vmpiers in any causes. G4 And I have read in Iustin Martir, and Eusebius, one thing that was worthy the observation amongst the Antient Romans; and which is very well agreeing and consenting with our vsages, manners and customes. For though at this day the written lawes do conclude, the woman to be vnder the power and commaund of her husband; yet so it is, that the Emperor Marke Antonyne, did authorize and privilege a certain married woman that was a christian, by his writing, to have the government and administration of her owne goods, because her husband, being a heathen -notes- G1Lib de subtilit. G2Of women, that they are naturally subiect to feares. G3Cap.3. G4Lib.2. D.de Regul:Iuris L. cum prætor § penult: D.de iudic. l. 2. D.de re Iudicat.l.neque D.de precu. l. D.de crimine C. qui accusat. In Apolog. ad DD.fratres. In historia ecclesiasti.

Page 225

Paynim, did misuse and entreate her evill: which sheweth very evidently, that shee was vnder the power and government of her husband, till such time as the graunt and letters patents of the Prince, did make frustrate his power and authoritie over her. Wherefore seeing it is most certaine, that women are naturally so fraile and weake; it must needes be, that feare is naturally attending vpon them, and dooth ever accompanie them: and it doth easily imprint sundry imaginations in their mindes, like as a man would make in waxe, an impression of some character with a Ring or Signet. And it must needes be, that their feare and apprehension is very great, seeing their imagination doth engender so mervellous effects in nature, as nothing more. And letting passe whatsoever is written heere of in antient histories, I will onely in this place, recite a certaine accident which befell of late, even in our time; the same being a thing as marvellous as any one thing that you shall observe in any Authors whatsoever.

G1 There was a certaine gentle, man in a village neere the Towne of Argenton in Normandie, which complotted with some of the inhabitants of that Village to play certaine plaies, wherein should be acted certaine divells, to the intent the pleasure and pastime of their Pageant might be the greater. G2 And this Gentleman would needes himselfe bee apparrelled and attired in the habite of a divell, and did play the part of a divell: insomuch, as after the plaies were ended, hee resting in a heate and chafed in his furniture, went home to his wife, lay with her, and had her companie clad in the same attire wherein he had played the divell: By meanes wherof, it hapned that his wife (were it either by some vehement imagination that surprized her, or else (which I rather beleeeve) through a very feare which seized vpon her, and is naturally in the hearts of all women) she was delivered at the nine moneths end, of a sonne so monstrous, as in his countenance, his head, his face, and all the other parts of his body, especially in his feete, hee resembled -notes- G1Of a gentleman borne in Normandie. G2Of humane parts in forme of a monster.

Page 226

and was more like vnto a Satyre, such as the Ports have described, then vnto an ordinarie and naturall man. After this, shee had other children by her husband, all which, (together with their brother the monster) did survive both their father and their mother. Vpon whose decease, there grew a contention and variance betweene them, touching the succession of his inheritance. All of them endeavouring to exclude this monster their elder brother, not onely from the birth-right of being heire and eldest sonne, but even from the totall succession of any

thing that hee should claime, or that might in right appertaine vnto him. Heerevpon was the processe sued, and the matter proceeded in suite betweene them, before a Iudge of an inferiour Court; by whome it was ordered, that they shoulde make their entry vppon the inheritance, and that the oldest brother shoulde inherite, as next heire vnto his father and mother, according to the custome of Normandie.^{G1} From this sentence the younger brethren brought their appeale, and remooved it into the Court of Parliament of Roan, where the cause was pleaded: "And the yonger brethren being Appellants did aledge; That they had great and just cause to complaine vpon the wrong done them, not onely, in that their brother was admitted to the birth-right of being heire and eldest sonne to their father: but also that hee should bee adiudged to, have any parte in the succession of that living, which neither did, nor could in any sort fall or appertayne vnto him, by any Lawes, either divine or humane. For, besides that hee was a very monster borne, and even against the ordinary course of nature: And therefore was to be excluded for that onely cause from all naturall rights and priviledges, as well of any legitimate and lawfull portion, as of the birth-right and priviledge of the first borne. There was not also any reason whie hee should be either termed or accompted for a man, seeing hee was formed and created farm vnlike other -notes- ^{G1}Of a processe or sute in an appeal broght against the said monster by his brethren vpon claime of inheritance.

Page 227

men, and did more resemble a Savage and a Satyrs, than a reasonable man. That by the publique lawes of the Romans (which concerned their religion and ceremonies) the monster ought to be putre to death as soone as it was borne, and then was to be throwen into the sea, or into the next river; or else was to be burned with fire made of those woods which are accounted vnfortunate, as namely thornes, hawthornes, bryars, and such other like barren, vnfertile, and savage shrubbes; the cinders whereof were cast into the river: which done, the bookes of the Sibils were looked, to enquire what gods they should seeke to appease: and what solemne games and processions they should celebrate: neither was there any thing doone, either in publique, or in particular, vntill such time as they were thorowly expiated and purged. And heereof we have abundant examples in Titus, Livius, Dion, Phlogon, Iulins Obsequevus, Marcellinus, and other Romans Authours. And as touching the Greekes, their religion in this poynt, was like vnto the Romans: For they burnt their monsters and threw their ashes into the sea, as Theocritus affirmeth. And it is not to bee thought any strange

matter, that the religion both of the Romans and the Greekes did so abhorre and detest monsters; seeing that amongst those peoples, and especially amongst the Romans, all men that were in any sorte deformed; or in any part monstrous, were killed, and reputed so vnfortunate and vnluckie in the encountering of them, that (as wee may reade both in their Poets and Historians) there was none but helde that iourney most vnfortunate and vnluckie, wherein hee did happen to meete, or to have a sight, either of any Negro or Æthiopian, or any man that was deformed or monstrous in any part of his bodie. Yea whensoever their campe was to dislodge, or to give battell vnto their enemies. If they did happen to encounter with any such hideous and mis-shapen persons; they

Page 228

would instantly vpon the place, massacre and hew them in peeces: so greatly did they abhorre all deformitie, reckning the same an enemy to nature; which of it selfe dooth never love nor desire to produce or bring forth any thing that should be either counterfet, or straunge from the humane shape and sormc. And if monsters have bin so hated and abhorred of the Romans and Greeks being Paynims: so have they beene no lesse detested and abhorred of vs Christians.G1 For by the right of our lawes publike which are the Canons of our Church, it is forbidden and defended, that any monsters shoulde be preferred to the orders of Priesthoode.G2 And Accursius, as also after him, the most parte of the Doctors in the Civill lawe doe holde, That monsters may freely and safely be put to death and slaine: and they gave an example thereof in a savage and wilde man, whom (as they affirme) it is lawfull to kill. And to dispute according to the Civill lawes touching the matter nowe in question: I find, that by the same, all monsters borne against the order and common course of Nature, are to be held for illegitimate: and by consequence, are therefore to bee excluded from that lawfull portion which may seeme to appertaine vnto them, out of the inheritaunce of their parents, as if they had not beene borne at all: neither is that Testament to be broken or disallowed, wherein the Testator doth forget and neglect them.G3 What shall I say more? Even by the lawes Feodall they cannot be allowed for Tenants, or to holde by any noble Fee or Tenure: And the reason thereof is very plaine and peremptorie; because they have not the power and facultie to performe those services and homages which are due vnto the Lordes of the Fee: And therefore, for these reasons before alleadged the Appellants did conclude, That the iudgement given, was erroneuous." But the eldest brother being defendant in the appeale, did affirme and maintaine, that the

inferiour Iudge had well and rightly ordayned; -notes- G1Cap. qui in aliquedist.51. G2Accursius and Doctores in l. ownes populs D.de Inst. and Iure.l. non sunt Liberi D.de stat. him. G3I. quod certatum. D. de post hæred.instit. cap. vnt. An umtus vel alias imperfectus feudum retineat.

Page 229

"That he (as the eldest and right heire legitimate) ought to have such part and portion in the succession, as by the custome of the Country might appertame and belong vnto him; That albert he had his visage and some partes of his body in some sort deformed: yet that was no reason that hee shoulde bee helde and reputed as a monster, seeing hee had the vse of reason and humane discourse: That it was to be seene in antient Authors, how sundry women, by meanes of their forcible and vehement imagination, had ingendered and brought foorth children much more monstrous than hee was: who neverthesse were not declared nor adiudged to be illegitimate or abortive in nature: That it was a thing ordinary and proper to the imagination, to produce marvellous effects in women at the time of their conception: The which is testified by Saint Ierome, speaking of a certaine woman which engendred an infant so deformed, that in, and throughout all parts, aswell of his body, as of his visage, hee was farre vnlike both to his father and mother: And neverthesse, Hippocrates the great and most famous Physitian of that time did declare and pronounce his opinion, that this infant, (notwithstanding he was so deformed) did appertaine to the mother, and that shee had not bred and brought him foorth, but onely through the force and vehemencie of her imagination. G1 That the divines also do holde and affirme, and namely Saint Augustine, that those monsters which are borne through the imagination of their mothers, are not properly monsters: Nay they go yet further, not alowing them in any sort to be called monsters, who be borne of mankinde, and be capable of reason and of the future resurrection.G2 That they onely are to be termed and called monsters which are borne of some beast, and not of any man, and have notwithstanding the face, body, and members of a man: as that monster which was borne in Britaine of a Cowe, in the time of King Lewes the -notes- G1Question in Ginesins. G2Lib.11.de civitat. Dei.

Page 230

twelfth; the face, body, and members whereof, were wholly, and in all partes, as of a man, save that, one of the feete thereof did resemble, and was like to the feet of the Damme therof. Vpon the birth of which monster, there was neverthesse great

disputation, whether the same ought to be baptized, or no: as is reported by Monsieur Boyer President at Bordeaux, who touching that matter, alleadged the authorities of the Doctours which debated that question and controversie. G1 Now although it be graunted, that such monsters, bred and borne of a beast, may lawfully be slaine: Yet is it not to be yeelded in any sort, that those monsters that are borne of any man, should be slaine, as the Appellants doe seeme to affirme; whether they have the vse of reason (which is the opinion both of Baldus, Aretin, Immola, and Angelus:) or whether they have not the vse of reason, but be so monstrous, as they have not so much as the face of a man, but rather of some beast: which is the doctrine of Felinus, of whose opinion also is Benedictus. G2 And therefore to smal purpose are all those histories alleadged by the Appellants out of Titus Livius, and others, and out of the publique lawes of the Romans. G3 And as touching the Civill Lawe, so sure as concerneth the matter in question; much lesse to the purpose is that which the Appellants affirme: That in times past any infunt monstrous borne, and forgotten or omitted in the testament of the Parents, could not therefore breake or desanull the testament: For this is to be vnderstoode (as Accursius saieth) when such an infant had not any shape or forme of man: and when it was destitute of the vse of reason; and did the deeds and actions of a beast, as if it bellowed like an oxe: or fedde vppon grasse as a sheepe. G4 That our lawes doe admitte an identitie of reason, and one selfe same and the like consideration betwixt such as are borne monstrous, as those which are Hermaphrodites. G5 For like as the Hermaphrodites, are reputed to be of that sex wherin -notes- G1 Boerius Cons. 301. Zarabell. in Clem. §. ad hæc quæst. 2. de sum. Trinit. G2 Bald. Aretin. and Immola in l. quod dicitur D. de liberis and posthu. G3 Angel. in tract. de maleficiis gl. and ex intervallo vers. quid au tem si hominem. Felmus cap. fin: de homic. G4 In repe. cap. Rainutius de testam. in verbo, Etsoboles quam gestabat in vtero. G5 Accursius in l. quæret D. de verb. sign. facit l. inter cetera de liber. and pest. Quæritur Hermaphrodit. D. de statu hom. Hostien. in sum.

Page 231

they doe most excell, (according to the Civillians) So the Defendant in this appeale, ought to be accounted and held of that kinde wherein he excelleth, and that is, in the nature and kinde of man, as being both borne of a man, and having the reason of a man. G1 And that as the Hermaphrodites may be instituted heires to succeede to any Inheritaunce, and are capable of Benefices without dispensation, and may be promoted

to holy Orders; so the monstrous borne which is partaking of mankinde, and hath the benefite and helpe of reason, may very well be admitted to succede to his parents dying intestate, according to the generall custome of Fraunce, which willeth, that The dead shoulde give seizin to the living. And therefore the Defendant concluded, That the Iudgement had beene well and rightly yeelded. And therevpon the Court by a solemne Arrest did confirme the same Iudgement, and did pronounce the appeale to be brought without any iust cause of griefe; and that therfore the sentence from which they had appealed, should be fully and wholie executed." But to returne to our Discourse touching women; I say, That very Feare dooth cause a thousand imaginations to come into their mindes, the which being carried and conveyed thence even to their corporall eyes, doe bring them into foolish and fond conceiptes, that they have seene some spirites. Besides, there be some particular maladies proper to women which be barren, and to may dens likewise; when their termes doe come and descend, and that the blood of their monthly disease being stopped from his course, through the ordinary passages and by the matrix dooth redound and beate backe againe by the heart, or by the partes neere about the breast. G2 Then the same blood, not finding any passage, troubleth the braine in such sorte, that (as Hippocrates saith) it canseth many of them to have idle fancies and fond conceipts, and tormenteth them with diverse imaginations -notes- G1de corpore vitiat *§ fin.* Baldus l. fin.C. de suis and legit. and lib. 1. Consilier. cons.436. Rebuffus in l. ostentum D. de verb. signif. G2De Virginum nat.

Page 232

of horrible specters, and fearefull sights to their seeming; with which being so afflicted, some of them doe seeke to throwe and cast themselves into wells or pittes, and others to destroy themselves by hanging, or some such miserable end. And it may be that the Milesian Virgins (of whom Plutarch writeth) were surprised with this maladie, which constrained them to hang themselves: and yet the citizens of Miletum could never discover nor finde out, what should be the occasion, that shoulde make them to execute that cruelty vppon their owne persons.G1 But this shall suffice to be spoken touching the naturall feare of infants, olde men, and women. Wee will now come to intreate of that feare which is accidentall, and is much more piercing into the minds of men than that which is naturall; and especially when God doth co-operate and work together with the same: and that no other reason can be yeelded for the same, but such as God hath reserved to his owne secret and vnsearchable counsell.

The first accidentall feare wee may terme and reckon to be that which dooth happen and befall vnto a whole campe, even in the open and playne day-light: which vsually dooth take holde vppon the most stowt and hardie, they not knowing, nor being able to yeeld any reason of their feare; and yet may a man see them to scatter them selves here and there on all sides, as if they were sheepe dispersed without a sheeheard.G2 If any man should alleadge that it were cowardice, or lacke of courage that should make even the most hardy and valiant thus to flie and runne away: I cannot conceive that there is any apparance of trueth in that opinion.G3 It must needes bee then that the cause thereof is in the power and pleasure of God, who is the onely prince and lorde that hath the soveraigne command of all armies: and who long since did threaten even his owne people the children of Israel; that if they would not observe his commandements, nor walke in the wayes of their Forefathers, that hee would -notes- G1Des min. illustr. G2Of feare caused in persons by accidental causes. G3Of feares surprising a whol campe in the day time.

Page 233

send them such, and so great feares and terrours, as they should without any cause flie before the face of their enemies.G1 Now this feare (as wee have erst saide) is called Panicus Terror, a Panique Feare, or, the Terrours and Furies of Pan, as Euripides calleth them; because the invention thereof proceeded from Pan, who in the warro of Bacchus against the Indians, being one of the Chieftaines and principall Captaines of the saide Bacchus (as Polienus writoth) vsed a thousand shatagems and politike inventions that were called [Greek omitted]; and by this meanes got Bacchus the vpper hand of his enemies, they being surprized with an exceeding great feare and astonishment.G2 But the case were otherwise if such a feare be taken either vpon the defront or defait of a campe, or by reason of the darknes of the night: for then the reason thereof is evident and apparant. And certainly in the disorder or defront of a whole campe, where the enemie hath them in chase vppon the spurre, and neere at hand, it is commonly seene, that the feare and terrour of men is so great, that many times those which are of the same partie with them, and their friends, are mistaken for their enemies. As that Gentleman of France, who in the battell of S. Quintines, flying from the furie of the Spaniards, as fast as his horse could galloppe: If a man should have demanded of him, what he dreamed of; when as his servant following him close at the heeles, tolde him that his dagger (being excellent faire, and good workemanship) did fall from him, and hee answered him; I am all made of daggers: Sure I am, he would have said; that hee

knew not his servant at that instant: but imagined that the Spaniards did follow him even at his backe.G3 And as touching a feare conceived by reason of the night, there is great apparance of reason, why the same should happen at that time, rather then in the day: because the night is more apt and proper to receive all terrours and apprehensions, then the day is: And the imbecillitie of the sight, (which in the night time is very great) doth make -notes- G1Of the Panique feare wrought in men by a divine and supernaturall power. In Mædea. Lib.1.Stratag. G2Of feare conceived vpon the defeate and overthrow of a Campe. G3Of feare conceived by night.

Page 234

a man to imagine many things, which he would not so much as thinke vpon in the day time. But heereof wee have spoken sufficiently at large, when wee were in discourse of the senses, and of the opinion of the Scoptiques. Let vs now therefore passe forwards and continue on our purpose, touching those persons that become fearefull and timorous by accident, and whereof no reason can readily be yeelded. First we will speake of such, as being guiltie of some notable and notorious crime, are seene to have such a biting and remorse of conscience within their breasts, that they suppose all persons whome they see to approach and come neere them, to bee Sergeants and officers comming to arrest them, and to make them prisoners.G1 To this purpose, Plutarch recordeth a marvellous strange and admirable historie of one named Bessus.G2 This vnhappie youth having most wretchedly and wickedly murdered his owne father, and the murder being long concealed, without comming to the knowledge of any man; on a time, as he went to suppe with some company, he threw downe with the point of an holberd, a Swallowes nest, and treading vpon the young ones, hee crushed them with his feete. The which being perceived by those that supped with him, they did sharpely and vehemently reprove him, for that vnmercifull and inhumane acte of cruelitie, (as it is vsuall with men to abhorre such as doe mischief to such little creatures:) vnto whom he made this answer: Do you not see (quoth he) how these baggage little birds do continually yeeld fatnesse witnesse against me, crying and chat toring in their language, that I have slaine my father. The company marvelling at this speech, and that not without cause, made report vnto the King what they had heard. And the King caused him to bee arrested and committed to prison: wherevpon, being brought in question vpon that fact, hee confessed the truth of all the matter, and (being thereof duly attainted and convicted,) he was condemned to suffer the paines and torments of -notes- G1Of

the feares of notorious malefactours, terrified by the guiltinesse of their owne consciences. G2In l.de sera numinis vindicta.

Page 235

death due to Parricides, and such as were murtherers of their parents. G1 Now amongst the manifold numbers of those that have their consciences troubled, by reason of their wicked and lewd lives, and are perplexed and terrified with a million of feates; we may well account those tyrants, who by vnlawfull and indirect meanes, have vsurped a tyrannicall authoritie over their owne native countries, or in some strange estate, and have changed a good forme of common-wealth and government, into an vniust and tyrannicall power; putting to death thousands of persons, whom they suspected to beemen of noted vertue and honestie, and who might be able to resist their damnable attempts and vsurpations. How often have we seene, that these men have bin troubled and tormented with most horrible phantosmes and imaginations, which de com into their heads both sleeping and waking: How many apprehensions and terrors had Phalaris, Dionysuas, Agarhasles, Pereander, Hipparchus, Alexander de Phora, Clearsbu, Apolloderus, and such like butchers of man kinde and how were their fantasies and imaginations distracted with feare of their subiects? How oft is it to be thought they forsooke their natural sleepes, and leapt sodainely out of their beds vpon a feare and imagined conceit, that some came to cut their throates: and therewithall, how often have they supposed and imagined, that they have seane sundry visions and apparitions of those whom they have murthered, or of some others whome they have feared? G2 Hipparchus (by the report of Plutarch) dreamed that Venus appeared vnto him, and sprinckled his face all over with blood. Apolloderus also in a dreame seemed to see how the Scithians fleaed him alive and hewed him in peeces, and that his heart being then throwne by them into a caldron, said vnto him; I am the cause of all this mischiefe which thou endurest. The Emperour Caligula, having caused a great number of Senatours and Gentlemen of Rome to be put to death, did never sleepe but a verie small part of the night; or (if hee did happen -notes- G1Of the feares and terrours of tyrants and vsurpers of estates. G2De sera numinis vindicta.

Page 236

to sleepe) his sleepe was interrupted and disturbed with a million of strange figures and images, which he shaped vnto himselfe in his braine.G1 Sometimes (as Suetonius reporteth) hee should see the sea as though it were talking vnto him. Sometimes he

would seeme as though he had a will to climbe vp into heaven, and there Iupiter taking him by the fecte, would cast him downe againe to the ground. So Nero, after the murther of his mother, was frighted with most horrible visions; for it seemed vnto him that he saw before him all the furies, with their whips and burning firebrands to torment him. And Antonyne Caracalla, did imagine that the ghost of his father Severus, (whom he had offended by the murther of his brother Geta,) was readie to runne vpon him, and by plaine force to mischiefe and kill him. And vpon the declining of the Romane Empire, Thierry king of Italie, (being a Gothe by nation) after he had slaine Simmachus and Boetius his sonne in law, two Romane Senatours, borne of a most noble family in Rome, and who had beene in former times Consulls: on an evening as hee sate at supper, (as Procopius rehearseth it) it seemed vnto him, that hee saw in the head of a fish served in vpon the table, the face of Simmachus in a most horrible shape and fashion, with great mustachoes, knitting his browes, frowning with his eyes, biting his lippes for very anger, and looking awry vpon him: the conceit whereof, strooke the king into such a feare, as he fell sicke and died thereof soone after. Behold then the strange effects of feare, which are alwaies, and infallibly exceeding great in those who are immoderately surprized therewithal, be the same in them either naturall or accidentall. We will now proceede on to entreate of another sort of persons, who by reason of some affection or passion that doth rule and predominate in them, are so estraunged from their owne naturall, as they doe fall into madnesse, and in that fit, doe imagine things most absurde and farre from reason.^{G2} The first in this rancke, are amorous -notes- ^{G1}In vita Caligu. ^{G2}Of feares proceeding of some passion, and causing madnesse and strange imaginatuons.

Page 237

persons and foolish lovers, who (as Aristotle writeth) have their desires and passions so great and violent, that in some of them, they doe both make a change and alteration of their bodies, and do engender most strange furies.^{G1} And I have noted in Saint Augustine, a historie of a certaine amorous person, who was so ravished in his amorous and fond contemplations, and had the image of his mistrisse so imprinted in his minde and thoughts: that he imagined himselfe to see her alwaies before him, and that hee dwelled and conversed with her, and did performe with her, all those actions which lovers vsually commit in embraeing of their loves.^{G2} But it shall not bee amisse to set downe the verie words which Saint Augustine vseth. ^{G3}Mimini, (saith hee) me audisse a quodam quòd tam impressam and quasi solidans

speciens fæminei corporis in cogitando cernere soleret, vs ei quasi se misceri sentiens etians genitalibus flueret. Truly hee that shall neerely and advisedly regard and consider the originall of love, shall finde that the same proceedeth of the sensuall and brutish part which the Hebrews call Behemith, of the word Behemoth; which signifieth foure-footed beastes, as Mares, and other such like creatures.^{G4} And this is the cause why the Greekes named it [Greek omitted], not as Plato faith, [Greek omitted]: or [Greek omitted]: but rather, [Greek omitted], of the Earth, which also in Hebrew is called Erets. For as the reasonable part of man is wholly celestially, so the sensitive part is altogether brutall, earthly, and of a base constitution, of the which proceedeth the passion of love. Now the most furious kinde of love which the Phisitians doe acknowledge, is that which they call the Heroicall love; because most commonly it taketh hold and seizeth vpon men of a noble and heroique courage, and such as are valorous; in whom the sensitive part doth much more abound and excell then in others, as having many of their spirits meerely terrestriall, their courage being replenished with a hote and manlike blood. And although it bee so, that wee must needes acknowledge in man three -notes- ^{G1}Of amorous persons growing mad for love. ^{G2}Lib.7.Ethic: cap 2. ^{G3}Lib.11.de Trimtat.cap.4. ^{G4}In Cratils.

Page 238

partes, and all of them proeeding of divers sountaines, and well-springs, which the Greekes name [Greek omitted]: that is to say, the Intellectuall part, the Irascible or Cholerique part, and the Concupiscible or coveting part. And that the Intellectuall doth proeede from the Soule and the Braine, the Irascible from the Heart, and the Concupiscible from the Liver: yet this is a thing most certaine and assured, that the Intellectuall part is little or nothing at all in heroicall persons that are given to be amorous: For were it so, then would their reason retire it selfe from the filth and puddle of their amorous desires as easily, as they entred into the same inconsiderately. ^{G1} It resteth therefore that the Irascible and Concupiseible powers, do remaine in them: each of which, are both meerely terrestially, and doe engender so divers and exorbitant passions, that it is not to bee held altogether for fabulous, which is recorded of Hercules, who in his furie, slew his owne wife and children, imagining it had beene Licus the Tyrant of Thebes, (as both Euripides and Seneca doe testifio,) and that he loved Omphale and Iole so extreemely, as forgetting his due devoyre and all regard of his estate, he apparelled himselfe in the habite of a woman, and served them as their Chambermaid. ^{G2} And for a more sure and evident

signe, that heroicall persons (in whome the Irascible and Concupiscible parts are most predominant,) be not well advised nor of any great subtiltie, but doe slide easily into amorous passions: It appeareth by Marke Antonio and Demetrsus, both which were good plaine meaning men, yet neverthelesse exceeding furious and of a martiall and courageous spirit, and easie to be entangled in the snares of amorous desires.^{G3} And it is well worth the marking which Aristotle saith, when he yeeldeth a reason why the Lacedemonians were governed by their wives: and that is, because martiall men, and such as are of a hardie and courageous stomacke, doe willingly suffer themselves to bee held vnder the yoake and power of love: And hee is of -notes-^{G1}The cause of brutish and sensuall passions and desires in amorous persons. ^{G2}In Hercule Furente. ^{G3}Lib.2.Politico.

Page 239

opinion, that thereof proceeded that fable of the loves of Mars and Venus. But to proceede, albeit I could recite an infinite number of histories out of Parthenius, Pansanias, Athencus, Apollodorus, and Plutarch, touching this heroicall passion of love, and that very seldome or never it admitteth any cure, but dooth in the end make men so melancholike, that in processe of time they become furious: as Rouland is represented in the Italian Poet Aristo: yet I will content my selfe with alleadging this one onely that happened in Italse, about fortie yeeres sithence: wherein is to be observed as strange and furious a passion of amorous love, as ever was any. The historie hath beene recited vnto me by Monsieure Minut Lord of Caster, a Gentleman of rate and singular learning, and the worthie sonne of that great Minut late Potestate of Mylan, and afterwarde chiefe President of Tholousa. At what time the learned Alciat lived and was reader in Padua: he had many schollers that resorted thither out of France, and passed over the Alpes, of purpose to be his Auditors. Amongst others, one Gentleman of an antient and honourable house, (who shall bee heere namelesse, because he is yet living, if hee bee not deceased since my comming from Tholouza) would needes make one of that companie. And having well profited in the studie of the lawes, hee would go to Venice; where hee was no sooner arrived, but he was entrapped in the snares of love. Wherevpon hee often frequented the doore of his Mistresse house, and made many signes and tokens of the greae love and affection which he bare vnto her: he assayed by presents and by the helpe of Panders to corrupt her: and in the end himselfe hardily discovered his love vnto her, and prayed her to have pittie and compassion vpon him. The Lady did rudely repulse him with threatnings and menaces: all which notwithstanding could never

make him leave to be importunate. But in the end, seeing himselfe altogether hopelesse to gaine her to his desire, and being

Page 240

flatly reiected; hee fell into a frensie one night amongst others, and comming the next morning to finde a companion and friend of his, he told him that he had a quarrell in hand, and prayed him to second him in the same. So they went both together to the Church of Saint Marke, where at that time the Duke of Venyse was present: whom as soone as this amorous foole saw, hee cried out alowde presently vnto his companion: See, there is he with whom I have the quarrell; goe, let vs set vpon him. His companion stirred not, but onely shaking his head, smiled at him, imagining that the other did but jest with him; for he did not thinke that he was turned foole. But a suddaine admiration and astonishment tooke him as soone as hee sawe this amorous mad-man to cast himselfe through the Duke his garde, and that drawing his sword, hee strived with the vtmost of his strength and endeavours to kill him: which hee had also done, if the guard of the Duke had not restrained and hindered him, by whom also he was bounden and led away to prison. The matter being yet hote, hee was examined what should moove him to this desperate action: But he answered nothing but fooleries and idle ieasts and toyes. By chance there was then residing in Venice, that great and renowmed Phisilian Fracastor, who was sent for, and this amorous Gentleman was shewed vnto him: who after he had long regarded and beheld him, and questioned with him vpon many points and occurrences: And perceiving that his answers did tend to nothing else but to menaces, and to discourses of women and wenches, he knew immediately that some amorous conceit was the cause of his outrage, and affirmed as much at that instant to the Magistrate; promising, that if he might be delivered into his hands, he would cure and recover him of this frensie. The Magistrate made som difficulty to grant that vnto him; yet, partly vpon the intrety of a great lady, being at that time in Italy, and partly vpon the perswasions of Alciat, who concurred also in the sute, and (like a learned

Page 241

Civilian as he was) shewed vnto them, that they ought not to inflict a double punishment vpon a Foole, or a Madman, who was sufficiently punished and chastised with his owne folly: the matter was so handled, that this yoong gallant was committed to the keeping and custos die of Fracastor. G1 After that Fracastor had gotten him into his hands, he suborned or disguised a

Curtisan, whom he commanded to pleasure the Gentleman, and to permit him to remaine and converse with her even vntill he was wearie, and that afterwards she should cause him to be wel covered withclothes till he fell into a sweat. This first cure being tried, he proceeded on to others, and did so well purge this gentleman, that hee made him perfitly sound: wherein hee confuted all the Poets, who affirme, that the disease of Love is vncurable, without the enioying of that person, with whose love the party hath beene once surprized and enamoured.G2 I will not heere dispute of this cure of Fracastor, as knowingful well that there were other Physitions of his time, and before, who attempting such a like cure as this was, did accomplish it to their great honour and commendation. The books of our moderne Authours are full of these examples: so as it is needlesse heere to alleadge them, it being no part of our purpose, to intreate of the malladie of Love. It shall suffice therefore for me to say thus much: that this sorte of Love is a kinde of melancholy: for the curing whereof many learned and expert Physitians doe prescribe the remedie to bee carnall copulation with a woman. For by this meanes (say they) those vaporious fumes of the seede are discharged and taken away from the patient, which doe trouble and corrupt the braine, and doe principally offend such amorous persons: because, by how much the more and longer they do continue in the body, so much the more doe they engender and accumulate cares and pensive thoughts, which in the end do turne into a rage and very madnes.G3 Next after amorous persons seized with an heroicall -notes- G1L.divus Marcus D.de office prasras. G2Amatus Lusitanus in suit centurus and aln. G3Of persons, who by griefe

Page 242

and furious passion of Love, there doe offer themselves to be considered of, all such persons as by some sodaine griefe; or by a burning and intollerable iealousie; or by thought and discontentment of minde, for having lost their goodes; or in seeing themselves disappoynted of some reward (which in their imagination they had worthily deserved for their vertues and good deedes) do fall into frensie and madnes.G1 These men (it is not to be doubted) but they doe see many false Specters, and do entertaine a thousand surious imaginations according as their choler adust dooth more or lesse domineere and rule in them. G2 We reade in the Fables of the Greekes and of Sophocles, that when Ajax had lost the Armes of Achilles, by the iudgement which Agamemnon pronounced against him in the favour of Vlysses his Competitor, hee grew into so extreeme an anger, that his wrath beeing chaunged into fury, hee beganne to runne

madde thorow the fieldes, and to drawe his sworde against a hierd of Swine, whome hee imagined to be Greekes. And taking out of the whole number onely two of the greatest hee could choose, hee hanged them vp vpon a limme of a tree, and beganne to whippe and scourge them, vpbraiding them with a thousand opprobrious and iniurious speeches; firmly beleeeving that these twoo hogges were Agamemnon and Vlysses, vppon whome hee resolved to revenge himselfe by their slaughter: on the one, for being Iudge against him; and on the other, as his enemy that had prevailed against him. In the end, being returned to his right senses, for very shame of his forepassed actions, he sheathed his sword into his owne throate, and so slew himselfe. G3 Sometimes such furie is ingendred in persons by a certaine choler and animosity of courage, which they do sodainely and at vnawares: fall into: And they will be so farre beside themselves (by reason their senses are troubled) that they will differ nothing at all from mad men. This is vsually seene in battelles and martiall combats of -notes- G1and discontentment of minde, and such like passions doe fall madde and frantique. G2In Aiace [Greek omitted]. G3Of madnesse growing in sodaine passion of choler.

Page 243

generous persons, where it oftentimes happeneth, that the Souldiors rushing with a rage and furie vppon their enemies, doe neither knowe their owne colours, nor their friendes and fellowes: from whome in the end their Armes are to be taken out of their handes, because they will fall as well vppon their owne people, as vppon their enemies. Such sharpenesse and violence is common and vsuall in Lions, who having a firebrand fastened to their taile, and being fleshed against some Bull or Beare doe quite forget their keeper and governour. And in the times of the Auntients it oftentimes fell out, that the Stage players who acted some furious person as an Hercules, an Athamas, a Thiestes, an Orestes, an Alemeon, or an Ajax, they have so acted the well representing and acting of their partes, as themselves in the midst of their sporte, have become truely and indeede furious, and have done actes of outrage and fury, even such as the parties did whome they represent. The historie of Æsope the Stage player is well knowne, who playing the parte of Thiestes, did with his Scepter kill one of his owne boyes. This Æsope was a great friend of Cicero; and Horace gave him the epythet and title of a grave man. Lucian writeth of a certaine Actor or Stage player, who playing the part of Ajax, in a fury became in the midst of his parte so troubled and distracted in his senses, that he did not any more faine himselfe to be furious, but hee

grew so truly, and indeede. From some he tore off their clothes;
From the Musitions hee snatched away their flutes and cornets:
To him that acted Vlysses, if his cappe or bonnet wherewith hee
was covered, had not guarded him, he had made his head a
drinking place for the flies. In the end, not content with these
fooleries, he descended from two Stage and placed himselfe in
the middest beewene the Roman Senatours, who having beene
in times past, Consulles, were not without some feare lest this
gallant would have mistaken them for Vlysses and Agamemnon,
and so have whipped them as if

Page 244

they had beene some curtall curre. This historie maketh me to
remember Vibius Gallus a Romane. Oratour (of whome Seneca
speaketh) how hee became (as a man would say) a very foole
and distracted of his wittes, only through the voluntary
merrinesse, and pleasaunt conceitednesse of his owne minde.
For hee vsing to immitate too too much the vaines of foolish
persons, and counterfaiting them to his vtmost: This imitation
so changed him in nature, that hee became a meere foole and
naturall indeede. But to give an ende to this Discourse of furious
and mad men: I may not forget what Tertullian saith, That those
who be furious, doe imagine that they see other men or beasts in
those whome they beholde, as Orestes sawe his mother in his
sister Electra; and Ajax imagined Vlysses and Agamemnon to be
amongest a heird of beasts: And (to make shorte) Agave and
Athamas pursued and slew their owne children, supposing they
had killed savage and wilde beasts. This shall suffice to be
spoken touching the senses, and the fantasie, and concerning
such, who oftentimes, by reason of the organs sensitive ill
disposed, or by means of their fantasie corrupted by sicknesse,
madnesse, melancholy, love, excessive furie, and other accidents
have, either externally or internally felt their naturall powers to
be altered and changed, and have deceived themselves by false
visions and phantosmes. It is now time that wee come to
another question which ariseth out of this Discourse, and can not
well be seperated from it: to wit: If the divell can at any time
convey or mingle himselfe with the senses, either being sound or
corrupted; or with the humours and fantasie being offended; or if
it be onelie the power and facultie of Nature, or of the Starres,
which doe worke those marvellous effects vpon our bodies, as is
affirmed by Avenrois, Pomponatius, and other Physitians, who
doe ordinarily attribute all things vnto Nature.

Chapter 12

Page 245

CHAP. XII. That the Divell doth sometimes convey and mingle himselfe in the Senses being corrupted, and in the Phantasie offended, contrarie to the opinion of the naturall Philosophers. We have heretofore shewed, that ofttimes the Senses, by reason of their imbecillity and depravation, and the Phantasie by meanes of divers maladies, both corporall and spirituall, doe feelee in themselves an alteration from their proper and particular facultie; as the eyes from seeing perfectly, the eares from hearing, the nose from smelling, the mind and the phantasie from reasoning and discoursing, and from discerning things by the vse of reason. All which, is so manifest and evidently true, as to doubt thereof would be too too grosse a follie and ignorance, because we see that the same daily happeneth: and there are very few men, who in their habitude or custome of life, doe not receive and admit, through accesse of yeares, some change and alteration of their naturall senses, and some diminution of their spirits. And as touching those, who in truth are wholly troubled and distracted from their sense or vnderstanding; the examples thereof are so frequent, and the multitude of them is so great and copious, that no man can be ignorant of the same. Yet this is not the point wherein any difficultie resteth, or wherein should consist the summe of this dispute: But it is sufficient, plainly and simply to affirme, that the nature of man may receive in it selfe changes; may erre by the senses,

Page 246

may be perverted in her discourse, and may loose the vse of reason, of prudence, and of vnderstanding. To be briefe, in things which receive no contradiction, (as this same) it should be but a vaine and lost labour to enter into any subtile discourse, and to seeke out any great reasons and arguments: In heaping vp of the which, a man shall bee sooner reprooved of too much curiositie, then commended for his learning For this cause also, have not I dw. It much in playing the Philosopher, and dilating vpon that which is easie for every man to know an see of himselfe? And if I have alleadged and cited both some reasons of phisicke, and some histories which made to my purpose, the same hath beene done rather by for me and way of discourse, touching things whereof the notion is common, then of any intention or purpose to enter into the depth and secrets of Philosophie, especially in that which doth in no sort require the knowledge of a Philosopher. But now, as it is commonly seene, that in the pursuit of any discourse, which is easie in the first beginnings thereof, it is vsuall to meete with some difficulties arising out of the principall matter: So doth it now fall out, that in speaking of the senses and the phantasie, I am fallen (I know

not how) into an high and difficult question proceeding of that matter: and that is, Whether in the Senses, being either sound or corrupted; or in the Phantasie, being wounded and offended; the Divell can possibly mingle and convey himselfe, and there exercise his furie; or if it be Nature only that worketh therein al alone: as is held by Pomponatius and Avenrois, according as I have formerly alleadged. G1 A speciall thing that maketh me firmly to beleewe, that it is a kinde of mockery to say, that Nature dooth worke in the Senses corrupted, or in the Phantasie offended; is this, that then it must needes be inferred, that the nature of man is more strong and puissant when it is corrupted and depraved, then when it is in it sound and entire estate. Which indeed is nothing else but to erre in all -notes- G1 That nature is not the cause of any marvellous effects by working vpon the Senses, or the phantafie corrupted or offended.

Page 247

true naturall Philosophie, which doth ever preferre the habite before the privation or depravation of any thing. Besides, that the peccant and faultic humours should worke more in humane bodies, then those can do which are naturall and do entertaine the harmony of the body: I cannot conceive how it may be done, but wee must seeke out some other reason thereof, then that which is yeelded by Pomponatius or Avenrois, or any other naturall Philosophers, whose reasons I hold it convenient in this place to set downe, and to see what they aleadge, to make vs beleewe: that there is no other cause but Nature onely, which doth worke in and vpon our bodies, our senses, and our humours, whatsoever is seene to happen vnto them supernaturally. G1 First they affirme touching the bewitching and enchanting of the eyes, that oftentimes the soule of many persons doth worke vpon the body of another, as vpon their owne proper person. And therefore they inferre, that the soule by her owne naturall vertue and power, is able at it owne will and pleasure, to alter and change the senses of persons, and to bewitch their eyes. And of this opinion are Avicen and Algazel. But long time before them Saint Augustine was of a contrarie opinion: For he saw little or no reason, how it could be, that men should have any such power or puissance one vpon another, vnlesse it were onely by the operation of the divell. And although it may be obiected, that the eye of a sicke bodie, may naturally wound and offend the sound eyes of another, that shall regard and looke vpon the sicke partie; yet so it is, that a naturall reason may be yeelded for that; as being caused either by meanes of the ayre infected, and directed from the eye of the patient towards the eyes of the sound person: or else, by

reason of some secret Sympathie, which some men have with others. And sometimes also by a kinde of Antypathie, a man may receive a kinde of naturall Fascination or Enchantment by the eyes; as little children in looking vpon a Toade, and -notes- G1The argument of Avicen and other Philosophers touching the power of nature producing supernaturall effectes. Lib.4.natur. cap. vltimo. Lib.5.Phisico. cap.9. Lib.3.de Trini.

Page 248

that little bird which the French name Rubienne, and the Greekes call [Greek omitted], of the which Elian and Suydas do write, how it hath this propertie, that it healeth the malady or disease called the Purples, by looking vpon the patient, from whom it taketh by the eyes the infection and venome thereof: And for this cause, in times past they did vse in selling this bird, to carry him close covered with a linnen cloth, for feare lest the partie so diseased, should have served his turne by it, in looking on the same before he had bought it. G1 I know that Plinie recounteth, how amongst the Bulgarians, and in Illirium, there are certaine whole families of Witches (which they of Avergne do call Fascignaires) or rather Sorcerers, which with their very looke doe kill those whom they looke on with a crosse or felonous eye or aspect. G2 This maketh me to remember that which Aulus Gellius speaketh of in his Treatise entituled, Noctes Attics, how there be some families in Africa, who on the contrary doe vse to bewitch and for speake folkes with their tongue and voyce: and in giving out praises and speeches of commendation, do worke the death and destruction both of trees, of brute creatures, and of children. G3 Now the Philosophers doe thinke to yeelde a naturall reason heereof saying; That those praises and commendatory speeches doe engender in the heart a kinde of ioy and gladnesse, and in the vaporious spirits, which the naturall heate doth open, and cause to rebound, as it were, pel mell, or confusedly by the face, and eyes, through which the venome and poyson of the enchauntment doth strike into the eies of others. G4 And this is the cause why Aristotle writeth, That there was a custome, that when one would praise any bodie, they would vse to say, and wish that Much good might do him, the praises which were given him. G5But whatsoever the Philosophers doe alleadge touching this enchaunting or witch-craft wrought with the speech: yet the trueth is, that no man hath any such power to kill another, except it proceede of the Divell by -notes- G1Lib.17.cap.13. [Greek omitted]. G2Of divers kindes of charmes and enchantments which being supernatural, the naturall Philosophers attributed to nature. G3Lib.9.ca 4. G4Sect 20.proble. 24. G5Answer to the former argument.

the permission of God: much lesse hath man the power to cast or send forth by his eyes into the eyes of another man, any infection that should be able to change and alter the habite or state of the body so readily: as is vsed to be doone by diabolically enchantments, with the which, such as come to bee stricken and attainted, are commonly surprized in a moment. And the very Antients themselves (in my opinion) seemed not to be ignorant; that such kinde of enchantments, done either by the voyce, or by the eyes, did never happen but extraordinarily and beyond the course of nature.^{G1} And that was the cause that in such cases they ayded themselves with their superstitions, to drive and chase them farre away from them, that they might not be stricken nor attached by them. Some of them vsed to carry tied about their neckes a certaine kinde of image or figure, made in forme of a mans member, thinking that by vertue of the same, no Sorcerers shoulde be able to hurte them. And such figures they called Fascinum, like as Horace also nameth it; because it hindered Fascinations or Enchauntments. Others againe vsed to weare vpon their foreheads, in forme of a Garland, the flower called, Our Ladies Gloves; and in Latine named Bacchar, even for the same occasion, and for feare lest some ill tongue shoulde charme or enchaunt them, which Virgil affirmeth in these verses, -----Bacchare frontem, Cingite ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro. Which may be thus englished, About his browes let be a wreath of Bacchar knit, That by an evill talking tongue our Poet be not bit. And others there were that did vse to spit in their owne bosomes or breasts, as Theocritus testifieth, saying; [Greek omitted]. The signification whereof in english is thus: - notes- ^{G1}That all enchantments wrought by speeches or looks, doe happen only extraordinarily, and beyond the course of nature. In Epodis. Minusve lanquet Fascinum. Of diverse superstitious devises vsed by the Antients against witchcrafts and enchantments.

That no man might have power to charme mine eyes, Vpon my breast I fell to spetting thrise. ^{G1} The same also is to be seene amongst the Greeke Epigrammes; [Greek omitted]. And likewise in Tibullus in this verse; Despuit in molles and sibi quisque sinus.^{G2} Vpon his owne most tender breast, Each man to spit doth hold it best. But Theophrastus speaking of superstitious persons, dooth witnesse the same yet much more, saying; [Greek omitted]. that is to say, And if the superstitious person doe happen to see a madde man, or any other person

taken with the falling sicknesse, hee will spet in his bosome quaking for very feare.G3 And it is well woorthy the marking which Theophrastus writeth: For the Antients (as Hippocrates reporteth) thought all those which were taken with the Epilepsie or falling sicknesse, and such also as were furious or fullen mad, to be seized and possessed with divells and evill spirites which didde torment them. And that was the cause that such as sawe them in that passion or distemper, did spet vppon their breasts or bosomes, for feare lest some inconvenience might befall to them by meanes thereof.G4 There were moreover other kindes of charmes and enchauntments of the eies, which the Latines called Prestigies, the which also are no more naturall than those former. For these Prestigies do so charme and bewitch our eyes, that it seemeth vnto vs we see marvellous things, and which doe exceede beyond all nature: Howbeit in very deede the same be nothing else but a meere trumpery and deceit of the divell; by the which notwithstanding we doe not perceive our selves to be any otherwise offended, but in this onely, that our sight is thereby somewhat altered and charmed. G5 And in this sorte Apuleius writeth, that himselfe sawe a Iuggler, who by Art Magicke did seeme to eate and swallow vp a sword, and to thrust it through -notes- G1Lib.4.Epigr. G2Lib.1.Eleg. G3De marbo sacro and de morbis Virginum. G4Of charmes called Prestigies. G5Lib.1.de Asino aureo.

Page 251

his owne body.G1 And the like (as Diodorus Siculus reporteth) did the slave Eunus in the country of Sicilia at such time as he vsurped a tyrannicall power over that Island, by the meanes and helpe of his Prestigies. For the other slaves whome hee endeavoured to drawe in his line, to make a partie with him, and to rebell against their maisters, did hold and esteeme him to be more than a mortall man, because, as often as him listed, hee woulde cast foorth of his mouth flames of fire, and woulde doe many other such like marvellous deeds, and that altogether and onely by Arte magicke.G2 So doe Atheneus and Eustatius recount how Cratistenes was so excellent a Magitian, that hee could not onely charme the eyes, but that hee could also alter and change the very fantafie of men. And to that purpose I could heere alleadge and cite the histories of many others the like Impostors and Deceivers; as namely Simon Magus, Apollonius, Iamblicus, Maximus, Sopater, Sosipatra, and infinite other, whom I will reserve to another place to be spoken of more and better to the purpose. But what shall we say to that which little children or boyes vse to see within the mirrours or glasses shewed vnto them by Magicians?G3 shall wee call them also

Prestigies. It seemeth not: For the Prestigies are only phantosmes and images of things which are not and howsoever it be, they are true and entire deceits or illusions, leasings and impostures of the divell, who by the subtiltie of his nature causeth the sight of things marvellous and supernaturall. G4 And for this cause those common Iugglers and Impostors, of whome hee serveth himselfe to make these his sportes of Passe and Repasse, are named in a proper worde by the Hebrewes, Chartumim, that is, Prestigiators or Deceivers, who do make strange wonders and miracles to appeere in sight to the eyes of men, onely by their subtiltie, or by the craft and subtiltie of the divell; for so dooth Rabbi Levi affirme of them: nowe the Magitians boyes doe see lively and naturally represented -notes- G1Lib.34.histor. G2Libr.8.Dipnos. In lib.4. Odyss. G3Of the representation of persons shewed by Magicians to boyes in a glasse, whether they be ilusions, or not. G4Prestigies, what they are.

Page 252

before them the figure of some thiefe; and they doe marke him distinctly within the glasse of the mirror, so that to call this a Prestigie or Imposture, would seeme at the first shew to have no shew nor appearance of reason. G1 Notwithstanding, seeing that all this proceedeth of the divell; and seeing it is vnpossible that the solide and absent body of the thiese there appearing should be abiding in the glasse: I may well say, That the same is nothing else but a meere witchcraft or imposture of the Divell which charmeth by his illusions the eyes of the child, making him to see within the glasse, or within his nailes, the picture and image of the thiefe. And neverthesse, though this be but a woorke of the Divell, and dooth altogether exceede the power and course of nature, yet there have bin some Philosophers who have revoked the same vnto the effectes of nature, and have attributed it vnto the impollution and purenesse of the soule of the childe that seeth the figure of the thiefe so represented. G2 For Apuleius, (who was one of the greatest Magicians of his time,) after hee had spoken in his Apologie of many children, who had seene, and prophecied, or foretolde wonders; in the end he addeth, Hac and alia de pueris lego equidem, sed dubius sententiæ sum, dicamne fieri, an posse negem. Quanquam Platoniceham, inter deas at que homines natura and loco medias quasdam Divornus potestates intersitas, eásque divinationes cunctas and miracula Magorum gubernare. Quin and illud mecum reputo posse animum bumanum and puerilem presertim simplicémque, sex carminum avocamento, sive odorum delinimento soporari, and ad oblivionem præsentium

externari, and paulisper remoto corporis memoria redigi ac redire ad naturam suam quæ est immortalis scilicet ac divina, at que ita veluti quodam sopore futura rerum presagire. Of this a man may gather, That Apuleius was in doubt, whether the nature of the childe had the power to prophesie and foreshew things; or whether the divells did suggest and minister vnto him, that which it tolde and prophecied. But Pomponatius a -notes- G1That the sight shewed vnto children by Magicians in a glasse, are meer illusions and diabolically impostures. G2Opinions of Philosophers, that such sights are naturall. Apollog.1.

Page 253

Christian Philosopher, and one that lived but a little in a manner, before our time, dooth goe a great deale further, and maketh not any doubt at all (as did Apuleius) but hee freely leapeth forth, and (as a hardie A theist) he saith roundly, that this proceedeth of nothing else but nature alone, and his woordes are these: "So great and powerfull (saith hee) is the strength and vertue of the Inchaunter, that it passeth into the soule of the childe being vnpolluted, as doth the vertue of the adamant pierce into the Iron.G1 For children are naturally prepared to receive impressions: and the soule of the childe being once moved or set in motion, doth move his sensitive Spirites as they are mooved in a dreame, and so by meanes of their subtilty, they see many more things than others doe. And therefore the childe may see the theefe naturally, by reason of the puritie, force, subtiltie, and agilitie of his spirits: And seeing it is to be presupposed that the soule is immortall: this is not more strange or miraculous, then the experience which we have of the Adamant, which draweth the Iron vnto it." Heere you see the very proper words of Pomponatius, who deceiveth himselfe in saying, that the enchantment which the eyes of the childe doe receive, is derived from him that is the enchanter.G2 For then it should follow, that the Enchanter ought first of all to have a sight of the thing represented, and then afterwards should communicate the same to the childe. For otherwise, how is it possible hee should give that force vnto the boy, which he himselfe hath not at all. And as touching the comparison betweene the Adamant and the Iron, that cannot any way serve to make for Pomponatius: for betweene the Adamant and the Iron, there is a kinde of Sympathy. And what Sympathy (I pray you) can there be conceived betweene the soule of the childe, and that of the enchanter, the one being vnpolluted, and the other polluted? It were more fit therefore and convenient to affirme -notes- G1Opinion and reason of Pomponatius. De Incantationibus. G2Answer to the reason of Pomponatius.

rather, that this is a very worke of the divell, of the which the enchanter serveth himselfe to know by the sight of the childe vnpolluted, that which is secret and hidden from him And in my opinion Fernelius the Phisitian seemeth to have beene much more religious herein, then Pomponatius. For he freely confesseth, that this is but a meere imposture and diabolicall deceit, which commeth not of the effects of nature, but by force of the charmes. G1 And you shall see his very owne wordes which he vseth in Latine, being very elegant and in good termes: Vidi quendam vi verborum spectra varia in speculum derivare, quæ illic quæcun[que] (23) , imperaret, mox aut scripto, aut veris imaginibus ita dilucidè exprimerent, vs promptè and facile ab assidentibus omnia internoscerentur. Audiebantur quidem verbasacra, sedobsc nis nominibus spurcè contaminata, cuinsmodi sunt Elementorum potestates, borrenda quædam and inauàita principum nomina qui Orientis, Occidentis, Austri, Aquilonísque regionibus imperant. "That is to say, I have seene a man, who by the force of charmes and certaine words, hath made divers specters and images, to come within a mirrour or looking glasse, the which have there expressed either by writing, or by some other demonstrations and true figures, whatsoever he would command them; and they have done it so cleerely and manifestly, as it was most easie for the assistants and by-standers to know and discern them. There you shoulde heare certaine sacred and holy words pronounced, but altogether polluted with most filthie and vile barbarous names, as of certaine powers of the Elements, and with certain horrible and vnknowne names of the Princes and chiefe of divels, having a command over the Orient, the Occident, the South, and North Regions of the world. So that Fernelius attributeth these kind of enchantments and fascinations, or the binding and bewitching of the eyes of children or boyes, not vnto the faculties and powers of nature pure and vnpolluted: but onely to the working -notes- G1Fernelius lib.1. cap. 11.de Abditis rerum cau fis.

of the divell, which doth worke and shew forth his effects, being called vp by the charmes and enchantments of the Magitian: with whom he hath a certaine strict confederation and necre aliance. And this ought to be received and admitted before all the reasons of Pomponatius, and others of that sect, who take vpon them in matters meerely Metaphisicall and supernaturall, to dispute as if they were simply Phisicall and Naturall. I know well, that Avicen besides all this, affirmeth, that the cause of

enchantments and charmes, commeth of the vehement imagination of the soule: And he yeeldeth an example thereof in the Henne, which having beaten the Cocke in fight, will stretch herselfe vp vpon her feet, and beate with her wings, and set vp her traine, as if shee were a Cocke indeede: and sometimes may bee seene a little horne growing out of her legge, such as hath the Cocke. G1 And heere of (saith hee) it may be knowne and comprehended, the obeisance which nature beareth and yeeldeth to the imaginative conceits and cogitations of the soule. And by this would Avicen inferre, that the cogitations sometimes are such, as they have power to alter and change both the sensitive Organs, and the internall or interiour part, in such sort, that a man should find himselfe (as it were) altogether transformed in himselfe. Which serveth well to confirme the opinion of Avenrois, who said; that the imagination of them which are bitten by a mad dogge, is so great and violent, that even in their vrine (as we have erst said) a man shall see as it were the figures of little dogges. G2 But this which Avicen affirmeth, cannot stand in regard of the transmutation of the common sense, or of the phantasie and apprehension: And it doth extend too farre also the imaginative powers of the soule: the which, howsoever they doe worke in vs marvelous and strange things; yet neverthesse, the same is onely by anaturall apprehension and commotion, which mooveth and stirreth vp in vs, and in our body a certaine heate and colde, -notes- G1The opinion of Avicen, attributing enchantments to the vehemency of the imagination. Lib.8.de Animal7.in Fiue G2The opinion of Avicen refuted.

Page 256

as we see in them that are growne into a suddaine choler, or into a feare: And it doth sometimes so change our health, that it is the cause either of death, or of some extreame greefe or sicknesse. And to little purpose is that comparison of the Henne, or of the partie bitten with a mad dogge, set downe by Avenrois and Avicen: forasmuch as the same is beyond all experience: and it is very hard to be beleevd, especially that same touching the partie so bitten by a mad dogge. For as touching that of the henne, it is no new nor strange matter, if having beaten the Cocke, she doe imagine herselfe to bee a Cocke, seeing that the Code himselfe, which maketh the Hen (as the saying is) will sometimes endure other Cockes to mount vppon him, and to tread him, as if hee were a Henne. Neither is this any thing abhorring from nature, nor is it any other thing, but such as daily happeneth, and that even by the vertue imaginative of naturall creatures. But that the imagination can engender in vs such marvellous effects, as the bewitching and blinding of the eyes,

and the enchantment of the senses vseth to produce and bring forth: that is an heresie in nature, which ought to be hissed at, and vtterly reiected, if there be no better reasons to be yeilded for it. To make short, no lesse false and vntrue also, is that which the same Pomponatius speaketh; inferring that that which Dion is reported to have seene, and that which Antonie is written to have heard, was but an impression in the soule, of some signes and tokens which did foreshew and prognosticate some future evils, which should afterwards befall and happen vnto them.G1 For even as (saith he) it happeneth in sleeping, that a man taketh an impression in his minde, of strange things that shall befall vnto him: So in waking, if a man be in a deepe muse and profound imagination, hee shall take an impression into his soule, by the force of the heavens, of that which shal betide and fal vnto him.G2 And a man shall imagine, that he seeth and heareth (as in a dreame) that which dooth -notes- G1Obiection of Pomponatius, touching specters, the sights appearing to Dion, and the noise heard by Antonie, and that such are no naturall impressions in the soule. G2Apud plutarchum in vita Antonis and Dionis.

Page 257

presage some future mishap and disaster to come. G1 Notwithstanding, as we have before said, following the authoritie of Aristotle, there is not any imagination so strong and forcible, that can so pervert the senses, that they will suffer themselves to be guided or mis-led thereby: And (as he saith) well it may be, that there may bee an exceeding great passion, and such as is that, wherewith persons (afflicted with an extreame fever) vse to be touched; who commonly doe imagine, that they see images and figures in a wall; albeit in truth and very deede, they see nothing at all.G2 But that such men as are sound and well disposed, should suffer themselves to be abused by the force of their imagination, (vnlesse it were by the Prestigies and illusions of Sathan) or that they can possibly see whatsoever they do profoundly imagine, is too too abhorring from any reason to be affirmed: Or to make the heaven the cause thereof, seemeth to proceede only for default of a more apparant or better reason to confirme it.G3 Better it were therefore (as hath beene said) to referre the cause of all this, to the working of the divells: who (as Saint Thomas of Aquin saith) may cause the same to proceede by the locall motion, as well of the humane inferiour bodies, as of the spirits and powers sensitive, if they be not repressed by the divine powers and puissance. G4 For so it is, that by the locall motion of the humours, in sleepe, there do present themselves divers sensible formes and figures, (as

Aristotle saith) caused through the abundance of the blood, that descendeth to the sensitive principles, and there doe leave divers impressions of sensible motions, the which do conferre and keepe themselves in the sensible Species or shapes, and doe move the apprehension in such sort, that they do appeare, as if the senses outwardly did moove themselves: So that it is not strange, that the diuell having power permitted him (as is saide) to moove the humours, may also make and cause them waking to receive by the eyes, or other senses, diverse imaginations, figures, voyces, -notes- G1 Answer to the former obiection. G2 De somno and vigilia. G3 Of the means how the imaginative power and senses may be deceived in specters and phantosmes by the illusion of the diuell. G4 Tomo 2. Summæ Sacra Theolog. quest: 80. Arti.2.

Page 258

sounds and other things that seeme very strange and marvellous. And this is the cause, (as Saint Augustine saith) That there is not any of the corporall senses, but the diuell may possesse the same, and vse it at his pleasure, if God do so permit him: Serpit hoc malum Diaboli (saith this Doctour) per omnes aditus sensuales, dat se figuris, accomodat se coloribus, adheret sonis odoribus se subycit, infundit se saporibus and quibusdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentiæ. G1 "That is to say, So mischievous is the diuell, that he creepeth throughout all the passages of the senses. Hee adhereth vnto soundes, he subiecteth and insinuateth himselfe into smelles and odours, hee powreth himselfe into savours, and hee filleth all the passages of the intelligence with certayne mistes and clowdes." And by the same reason it happeneth also, That the diuell dooth cast himselfe also into the inward and interiour senses, and into the fantasie of men, and mooveth them in the same sorte as hee dooth the externall: and by a certayne extasie and alienation of their spirites which hee causeth; hee maketh diverse formes, specters, and phantosmes to appeare in their imaginations: the which at such times as they awake from sleepe, will so lively represent themselves to the externall senses, that a man cannot be otherwise perswaded, but that hee hath truly and indeede seene them: albeit the same were but a pure illusion of the diuell. Now this dooth leade vs, as it were by the hand, to those discourses and reports of Witches and Sorcerers: In whose fantasies and internall senses the diuell dooth so well and cunningly imprint and fasten certayne Images and figures of things: that the same doe afterwards convey themselves to their outward senses, howbeit that they have neither seene nor heard the same, but onelie in a kinde of dreame, and diabolically

extasie. G2 For that the soule of the Sorcerer shoulde issue forth and departt out of the body (as some persons of this age have imagined) is a thing that cannot in any sorte be approoved, - notes- G1Lib.18. Quist. G2Of diabolical extasies happening to witches and forcerers, that they be not by the departing of the soule from the bodie for a season, but onelie by illusion of the divell.

Page 259

and wee will easily refute and disprove the same by sufficient reason and authorities, when time shall serve, and that we come to speake of prodigious dreames. G1 But vpon the matter it shall nowe suffice, that the Councell of Ancyra, according as is to be read in the Cannon Lawe, hath determined; that whatsoever the divelles doe instill into the spirites and mindes of Sorcerers and Sorceresses, is not by any abstraction made of the soule out or from the body, but onely by true and pure illusions, fantosmes, and deceptions, making them beleewe that they ride, I knowe not on what kinde of beastes with Diana the goddessse of the Paynims, and with Herodiade. It appeareth also by the determination of the same Councell, that the Sorcerers which see such things are seduced by the divell, and through their infidelitie doe deserve to bee mis-led by those diabolically illusions. And this sheweth apparantly, that the Sorcerers and Sorceresses doe never enter and fall into such kinds of extasies, in the which they see diverse phantosmes that doe convey themselves to the externall senses at the time of their awaking; except they have intelligence and confederation with the divell. For otherwise the divell could never fasten his illusions so deeply in their imagination, to make them believe, that they had seen that in their body which they doe not see indeede, but onely in spirite and imagination of the minde. G2 And I say this expresly to refute the opinion of some Phisitians of our time, as namely, Baptista de Porta a Neapolitane, who doe affirme and maintaine that the sleepes of Sorcerers replenished with such vaine imaginations in dreaming, doe proceed of no other cause than of a sleepy kinde of oyntment, wherewith they doe vse to annoynt themselves before they come to be ravished in those their extasies. But the trueth is, there is not any kinde of oyle, oyntment, perfume, or any other such like drugge, that hath any such power or vertue to make menne to fall asleepe, and to dreame in that manner as Sorcerers vse to doe: who at -notes- G126 Quest..5. cap.Episcop. G2Opinion of Baptista de Porta and other Physitions refuted, atributing the extasies of Sorcerers to oynt ments, and c.

the time of their awaking, doe sometimes make reports of things which fall out to be true indeede, which can bee by no other meane, than the ministry of divells, which doe shew vnto them in their sleepe and dreames, the images of things that are true and certaine, and doe withall perswade them, when they awake, that they have seene them sensibly and indeede: Nowe these kindes of Sorcerers that doe thus imaginarily enter into their Sabbaoths, are no lesse worthy of punishment, than those that vse to be carried thither by corporall transportation, of whome wee shall speake heereafter, when wee come to intreate of Specters, fully, and at large. G1 This being not well considered of, by the great and learned Alciat, who cast his minde too too much vppon the reasons of Nature, which have no place in thinges that are supernaturall, it made him vndertake the defence of such Sorcerers and Sorceresses as vse to bee transported to their Sabbaths by imagination: insomuch as in his Booke intituled Parerges, hee reprooveth a certaine Inquisitour of Piemont that caused a great number of those Sorcerers, both men and women, to be putte to death, condemning them to be burnt with fire. G2 G3 In whose defence, marke what hee writeth; After that hee hath reprooved the crueltie of that Inquisitour, who hee faith, was chased out of that Countrey by the Inhabitants vpon that occasion: "Albeit (saith hee) some of the husbandes of those that were accused of witchcraft and Sorcery, being men of credite and honest reputation, did constantly affirm and protest, that even at that very instant, wherein those witches their wives were accused to be dauncing vnder a certaine great vine, themselves were layd close by their sides, and did speake vnto them; yea, and some had their secret company: yet aunswer therevnto was made, that those were not their wives themselves, that did so lie and had the company of their husbands: but that they were divells that tooke vpon them a resemblance of their forme, and a kinde -notes- G1Opinion of Alciat touching transportation of witches. G2Libr.8. G3A discourse of Alciat in defence of witches transported by imagination.

offantasticall body like vnto theirs, and so with an illusion did abuse their husbandes. Whereunto I forthwith replied (saith Alciat) And why doe you not rather presume, that that was the divell which was seene dauncing vnder the tree, together with his companions in the forme and habite of those women, and so discharge them vpon the testimonie of their husbands, who were

layde in bedde with them at that very time; wherein you accuse them to be thus revelling and dancing? Why should you faine or invent this Assertion, to say that the true body was in a fained and false dance, and that that which was but a fantastick body should be layde, resting quietly in bedde? What neede was there heerein to augment the miracles and power of the divell by encreasing it, and leaving the profession of a religious divine, to execute the office of a severe and cruell Iudge: which turneth and construeth all things to the worst against the partie accused, without permitting any purgation or iustification made in his behalfe? It was sufficiently prooved (saith the same Alciat) by diverse Informations, that all that assembly of divells which was intended to bee no other than of witches, was sodainly chased away, and made to vanish out of sight, by a simple woman, who (passing by where this Sabbath was kept) did nothing but call vpon and pronounce the name of Iesus: and sodainly vpon the very sound and hearing of that name, all the Dauncers did sodainly make away: and no man could tell what was becom of them, even in a moment." Now if those were true bodies, how is it possible they could so soone bee gone and vanish? It must needes be therefore, that they were but meere phantosmes, and as the Gardens of Tantalus, according to that saying and proverbe of Philostratus. G1 "Yea but say they, The women themselves did confesse that they were there dauncing, and didde yeelde vnto all that which was brought in evidence against them. But to this the answer -notes- G1In vita Apollo.

Page 262

is easie (saith Alciat) namely, that the imagination of those women was faultie and corrupted by melancholie, or some other maladies, which Plinie in one place calleth the illusions and mockeries of the Fannes or Fairies, which did require rather the helpe and cure of a Phisitian, then of an Inquisitour, and might well have been healed, if the most part of them had not bin very poore, and without meanes to defray the charge of it." In the end, not knowing how to resolve him selfe, he comes to the Counsell of Ancyra, which maketh altogether against him, and markes those Sorcerers with the touch of impietie and infidelitie, who doe receive in their inward senses, those diabolick phantosmes and illusions, and doe imagine themselves to bee in the company of Diana or of Herodiada: notwithstanding, that in very deed, they be lying still in their beds, by a certain ravishment and in an extasy. Thus thinking to defend those who are altogether vnworthy to be defended, he falleth vpon that which doth vtterly condemne them. For what greater sinne can any man alleadge to be raining in the world, then this impiety,

to have association with the divell, of the which all Sorcerers are vndoubtedly partakers, at such time as they doe fall into any such extasie, and doe see such divelish visions, according as the counsell of Ancyra hath determined of them? Now as touching that melancholy which Alciat doth attribute to the extasie of Sorcerers, it is a thing meerely ridiculous, and deserveth no answer, because it is not credible, that those, which confessed themselves to have beene in the company of the divell, should all of them be stricken with one and the same maladie and infirmity of minde, and should acknowledge themselves to have seene the very same things so consonant and agreeable each to other, but that there must needes be some cunning of the divell in canfing it. G1 And as little to purpose is that which he alleadged, that those who were accused to be Sorcerers, should be laid in bed by their husbands, -notes- G1Answer to the opinion of Alciat touching Sorcerers, their being in an extasie, and that it comes not of melancholie, but by the cunning of the divell.

Page 263

at such time as they were accused to be at their Sabbath. For Spranger telleth vs. that even in the company of the husbands themselves, the divells have had carnall copulation with Sorceresses, and that even in a visible forme. Much more therefore may it stand with reason, that the Sorceresses even in the company of their husbands, may be ravished and grow into an extasie, and see in their imagination such divelish visions, even as they be laid by the sides of their hushauds. Now of these kindes of ravishment by way of extasie, I can alleadge vnto you an infinite number of histories; but it shall suffice that I recite two or three onely, which I have read in Caietan, named de Vio, an interpreter vpon S. Thomas of Aquine: and in Nider, from whom both Silvester Prieras, Spranger, Henry Institoris, and others, having made that booke, intituled Mallens maleficarum; and Ghirlandus also have collected the better part of their Treatise. G1 Now, DeVio sheweth how himselfe did knowe a certaine woman a Sorceresse, which was exceedingly enamored of a young man, and whom the divell did annoint all naked with a certaine oyntment, perswading her, that he would bring her into the house of her beloved. This woman having beene of a long time in an extasie, and comming againe to her selfe, affirmed, that she had bin and laine with her friend, and no man could perswade her to the contrarie; notwithstanding that in very deede, she was found laid all naked in her bed, and there had beene so exceedingly wearied and toyled, that being taken with an hoarsenesse by reason of the extreame colde which she had endured, she was driven to keepe her bed, till she was throughly

eased and refreshed. And Caietan had not afterwarde shewed and made it manifest vnto her, that this which she had seene, was nothing else but an imagination, she would never have conceived the truth thereof; so greatly was she deceived and abused by the diuell. And hee telleth farther, how he knew an olde woman, who had reported and given out, that she would not faile to bee -notes- G1In quest. 106. secundæ secundæ arti.3.

Page 264

at the Sabbaoth, and that she should be transported thither from her chamber: howbeit for all this, shee was found starke naked in the same chamber, altogether sencelesse and in an extasie: insomuch, as the illusion and deceit of the diuell, being made manifest and apparant vnto her, she was converted and brought to be of another minde. And Nider alleadgeth also an example of another old woman, who being by no meanes to be converted or perswaded by her Inquisitour, shee did, in the end, betake her selfe to enter into her chamber, at such time as she vaunted that she would goe to her Sabbaoth: and there was she seene, how at the first she beganne to sleepe sitting, and then to grow into a great sweate, holding a bason in her hand; the which falling downe, shee also fell vpon the ground all at her length, and there discovering her secret parts, she was afterwards awakened, not without being greatly ashamed and confounded. But, that wee may not fall away too soone from our purpose touching Sorcerers and others, who have sworn allyance and confederacie with the diuell.G1 Besides that, they be ravished in an extasie, they have sometime also carnall copulation with him, and may be changed in the forme and shape of diuers beasts. And albeit the Phisitians will come vpon vs with their disease called Ephialte or the Falling-sicknesse, the which we have formerly described, and with their Licantropie, with which diseases they that be taken and surprized, do imagine themselves to have carnall companie with spirites, or doe thinke themselves to bee changed into Woolves: yet in very truth, so it is, that there be some men and women, which in very deede have had copulation as Incubi or Succubi with the diuells, and have beene changed into Woolves so farre forth, as the outward sight and sense was able to discerne and have had the same affection as Woolves have, and (which is more) have beene coupled with the females of Woolves. This is a thing in some sort very difficult and hard to be beleeeved, especially of such as - notes- G1That Witches and Sorcerers have sometimes carnall copulation with the diuell, and bee in outward appearances changed into the shapes of beasts.

be naturallists, and doe attribute most thinges to the worke and power of nature: and I know that Plinie doth make a mocke and least at it, and especially at that which is called Lycantropie, which he accompteth. but a meere fable. And yet neverthelesfe himselfe alleadgeth Evanthes a Greeke Author, who saith; that there is in Arcadia, a certaine linage of men, who passing over a certaine flood or river, doe become woolves, and repassing the same, do returne into their humane shape againe. G1 So that he is doubtfull of that which he ought to beleeeve in that point: And being ignorant of the power of divells, hee resteth himselfe vpon the power of nature, which is in some sort excusable in him, being but a Pagan. But it is a question worthie the handling, to knowe whether the divells have the power to change in verie deede, the substance of mans bodie; or whether it be in shew and apparance onely, deceiving not onely the fantasie of the Sorcerer, or of the partie which shall bee bewitched or enchanted, but also the externall senses of those that shall behold them. G2 The truth is, this question hath beene handled by Saint Augustine, who holdeth, that the true bodies of men cannot in any sort be changed by the Art of the divell; but that he may well bee in such a body as is fantastically, and which either in dreaming or in imagination doth diversly alter and change it selfe by many sorts and kindes of things that doe present themselves vnto the minde: And albeit the same be not indeede a true body, yet may it take the forme and shape of a body, suppressing and keeping (as it were) asleepe the outward senses of men, in such sort, as their true bodies may in the meane while repose themselves, and be at rest in some other place surprised and overcome with a deepe and profound sleepe. G3 And the same Saint Augustine goeth yet further and saith, how himselfe knew the father of one named Prestantius, who was changed into a Mule: and being thus metamorphosed, did carrie vpon his backe certaine cariages -notes- G1Lib.8.cap.22 G2Question, whether the divell can change the bodies of men indeed, or not. G3Answer. Lid.18.de circ. dei.

and baggage of souldiers. And this learned Doctour doth set downe his resolution, "That this was nothing else but a meere illusion of the divell: and that the father of Prestantius was not changed into a Mule; and much lesse did hee carrie any bagge or baggage, but that these were the divells which did charme and enchant the eyes of the beholders, making them beleeeve, that the father of Prestantius was a Mole, and carried those burdens

and baggage: notwithstanding that it was they themselves which carried them."G1 And agreeable to this resolution of Saint Augustine, Gulielmus Parisiensis doth recount a certaine history which is worthy the marking, because in things of like sort (besides the conclusion of Saint Augustine being somewhat too spare in this point) it may bee gathered, that the divells do seize themselves of naturall beasts, as mules, horses, wolues, and such like creatures; and the meane while do possesse the phantasie of Sorcerers, or of persons enchanted by them, and do make them beleeeve, that they are changed into beasts, bringing withall into their fantasie, that which themselves doe worke in the meane season, by the ministry of those beasts. The historie of William of Paris, is this, he saith; how he himselfe knew a man, who thought himselfe to bee changed into a wolfe, and at a certaine houre did withdraw and retire himselfe into a hollow cave, farre retired within a thicke and shadie wood, where hee fell asleepe, and in sleeping, dreamed, that he was become a wolfe indeede, howbeit that in verie truth, the divell did onely possesse a naturall wolfe, which he made to runne vp and downe that wood, whilst this man lay there sleeping. And in the end this was discovered, the man being there sound in a deepe sleepe, and lying ravished in an extasie within the cave. G2Contrary neverthesse and repugnant to this (which both Saint Augustine and William of Paris doe affirme) are many and divers histories, which may be read in sundrie Authors concerning such persons as have bin changed -notes- G1Vltima parte de vnivers. G2Obiection against the former answer.

Page 267

into beasts: For (besides the Hermit of Dole,) who in our time was found to bee changed into a wolfe, and taking with his pawes a little childe which he was going to devoure, if hee had not beene surprized and discovered, and having in part the figure and shape of a man, and partly of a wolfe.G1 Most notorious also are those histories in Spranger, touching three Damsells, who in forme of a Cat, did assault and set vpon a poore labouring man, who did hurt them all three, and they were so found hurt and wounded in their bed: And that of a young Marchant, who was changed into an Asse by a Sorceresse of Cyprus, who neverthesse, did alwaies esteeme himselfe to be a man, albeit his companions did beleeeve him to be an Asse, and did chase and expell him out of their shippe, as being such a one indeede. And it is a thing worthie to be considered in this latter, that although he were taken and reputed of all others for an Asse, yet the Sorceresse her selfe, that had enchanted him, and other Sorcerers her neighbours did vse and entertaine him still,

as a man, especially being in the house and within the doores: for abroad he was constrained by the Sorceresse, to carrie vpon his backe burthens of corne and of wood. Now even this same serveth to shew, that the divell doth not change the bodies of men, but onely in shew and apparance doth abuse and deceive the phantasie of men, which doe imagine and thinke those to be beasts, who indeede are no other then reasonable men. G2 And of the same opinion is Thomas Aquinas, howsoever there bee some in our time, who would have made men beleeeve, that he affirmed purely and simply, that the divells and Angells have the power by their naturall vertue, to change our bodies. G3 But vnder their correction, they did ill vnderstand the worde Transmutation, as it is in that Doctour. For the same is to be vnderstood passively as concerning those, who in apparance have their senses, and the phantasie changed by the divell, and by consequent -notes- G1 Mallei Malesicarum. G2 Solution of the former question. That the divell doth not change the bodies of men In 2. Sentent. dist. 8. G3 An Demones possunt imprimere in sensus corporales præstigijs illudendo.

Page 268

ase easie to be abused and deceived by that immutation and alteration which they finde in themselves, farre from that which is naturall and familiar to them. G1 And we have already, and shall againe in other places shew, how that the divell working vpon the fantasie, dooth moove and stirre the humours, and doth in some sort, cause a transmutation of them by a locall motion: And this transmutation of the humours, being internall or inwards, doth communicate it selfe, not onely to the externall senses of the partie which is charmed and enchanted, but to those also of the beholders, as we have afore declared, if God do not impeach and hinder it. As wee reade that saint Macarius, having a yong maiden brought vnto him, which was reported to have beene changed into a Mare, did neverthesse for his part alone well see and perceive, that she was not a Mare, but a naturall woman: And it was, by reason that he was a godly and holy man, and the divell had not the power to vse his Prestigies and illusions towards him. For if this young maiden had in very deede and truth, beene changed into a Mare, she had not beene taken at the first sight by Macarius for a maiden, as indeede she was, and by him was cured from the illusion of the divell. To be briefe, we may conclude with Saint Augustine, Non esse credendum dæmenu (05) arte vel potestate hominis corpus in bestialia lineamenta posse converti, and transgressori. bus Angelis ad nutum servere hanc rerum visibilium materiam sed soli Deo. G2 That it is not a thing to be beleeeved, "that the

divells have any Art or power, to change and convert the body of a man, into the lineaments or members of bruit beasts, or that this matter and substance of visible creatures, should bee obedient to the becke and command of those wicked Angells, but that this is a power proper to God alone." And this reckoning are wee to make of that fable of Circes, who was said to have changed the companions of Vlysses, into very naturall swine; which is not to be accounted other -notes- G1How, and in what manner the divel doth work his illusions, in seeming to change the bodies of me (02) into other formes which truly and indeed they are not. G2The resolution of the former question. Lib.18.de civitate dei and 3. de Trinit.

Page 269

then such as it is, to wit, meerely fabulous; vnlesse a man will say (as the same Saint Augustme doth) that these were illusions and Prestigies wrought by Art Magicke, such as the antient Post Propertius, doth attribute to another Magitian, a notorious woman witch; whom he celebrateth in his Poemes, to have beene so famous and power full in her charmes, that shee could have changed her selfe into a wolfe at her pleasure, as is to bee seene in those his verses; Audax cantatæ leges impenere Lunæ, Et sua nocturno fallere terga lupo. The Moone she durst command by her enchanted power And falsed shape of Woolfe, by night to take vpon her. G1 Or as Virgil affirmeth of the sheepheard Maris, who by vertue of herbes brought from Ponius, did change her selfe into a wolfe, and did range the woods. But it may bee objected, that Nebuchodonozer was changed into a beast: and wherefore then should it not be credible, that men may in very deede bechaunged into woloves? G2 First I deny, that the Scripture doth precisely affirme, that Nabuchodonoser was changed into a beast, but that he did eate hay as a beast, and that the nailes of his fingers and his feete, did grow as the clawes of an Eagle. The which is a thing worthie to be marked, and doth evidently shew vnto all such vndiscreete persons, as would have men to be transformed into woloves, how much their mindes and vnderstanding are subiect to vnconstancie and indiscretion, that they cannot make any profite, but do wrest to their owne sense, that which being well examined, doth make altogether against them. For in that the Scripture saith, the nailes of Nabuchodonozer did grow in such a manner, and that hee did cate hay as an Oxe: it giveth vs to vnderstand, that his forme or shape was not changed, but that hee had so lost the vse of reason and his vnderstanding, that hee thought and imagined himselfe to bee a beast, and hee didde therefore cate hay as a beast; not that hee was really -notes- G1Eclog.

G2Objection of the change of Nebuchadnezzar into an Oxe.
Solution.

Page 270

and indeede a beast. For seeing his essentiall forme was not changed, (as themselves do confesse) and the corporall and reasonable parts of man are two essences so lincked and conioyned together, that before the day of death, they can never be seperated: how can it be, that the reasonable part being not possible to bee changed, because it is essentiall to man; (as themselves alleadge) yet the body which is vnited, and tyed vnto the reason and vnderstanding, should, and may notwithstanding bee changed and transformed? Certainly the bodie of man and the soule are Relatives: and a man cannot presuppose a humane body to be living and walking, but hee must give vnto it a reasonable soule: and so likewise on the contratic part, wee cannot take any consideration heere below of a living soule vsing reason, but we must give it a body proportioned with all the draughts, features and lineaments of a man. This being a thing so true and certaine, as to make a doubt thereof, would be a manifest errour, and against the principles of naturall Philosophie. How can it then bee, that the soule being not to be changed by their owne confession, our bodies n verthelesse should bee changed and take the body of a beast? G1But they inferre yet further and say, men have the power to make a cherry-tree or such like plant, to boare and bring forth roses or apples, and they can change yron into steele, and the forme of silver into gold: wherefore then should it be thought so strange a matter, that the diuine should change the figure of a body, into some other shape, seeing his power doth by farre exceede that of men?G2 Goodly comparisons no doubt: as though the man (which doth graft in a tree a rose or any other graft) be he, that doth cause to grow within or vpon the tree, or the wilde stocke, that which is so strange and different from the proper substance of the tree's; and not rather nature it selfe, which by meanes of the sappe of the tree mounting to the graft, doth make it to be incorporated -notes- G1Objection by sundry examples. G2Solution and answer to the first example.

Page 271

and vnited to the barke and body of the same tree, and (as Virgil saith) Vdo facit in alescere libra. Certaine it is, that he which doth graft it, doth nothing else but lend his hands to Nature, the which, (as touching the rest) according to the power that God hath given it, doth worke and bring it forth, causing it to come to these effects as we see. The which, howsoever they may seeme

marvelous, yet are they notwithstanding meerely naturall and easie to bee comprehended, as proceeding from that which doth delight in the diversitie of her worke: and as Petroni Arbiter saith; Non vne contenta valet natura tenore Sed commutat as gaudet habere vices. Great is the force of nature, her course oft changing, Never contented with one kinde of working. Now God hath not given such power vnto the divell, so to transforme any body into another, and to alter and change the substance thereof in any sort; neither is there any likenesse or identity of reason, betweene the grafting of a tree, and the transmutation of an entire and solide substance into another body. And more then that, howsoever in grafting of any thing, a man do cut away even halfe the stocke to incorporate the graft, yet doth the stocke still remaine the same, and the graft taketh it noriture of the sappe of the stocke, and doth retaine the nature thereof: and that this is so, it is apparant, for that in the grafting of roses vpon an hawthorne, or other wilding, or an oke, they will grow to be greene, by reason of the sappe of the wilding, or of the oke. And therefore the nature of the tree is not so changed by the new grafting of it, but that a man may easily take knowledge of the first substance thereof, the which is farre otherwise in the substance of any man, that is said to be changed and transformed by the divell: for that therein cannot be discerned the tract or shew of any humane shape. So that then the divell must bee acknowledged to bee of more

Page 272

might and puissance then Nature it selfe, the which the Hebrewes did esteeme in a maner as a god. Now as touching that they alleadge, that man doth change yron into steele, and silver into gold; they do not see how therein they doe most grosely and absurdly speake against themselves. G1 For I will vse no other then their owne comparison to refell all those that shall maintaine the transmutation of any true substance. For as it is most certaine, that yron doth easily refine it selfe into that which in nature is next and neerest vnto it, that is, steele: neverthelesse it is alwaies yron, and is easie to be discerned from that steele which is fine and naturall. And as silver (being molten and dissolved with matters of another nature) may easily take the colour of gold, and come to counterfait and adulterate the same, and yet is not able to change it, but that it will be discovered for such as it is, being tried either with the graver, the touchstone, the hammer, or some such meanes: In like manner, the divell (howsoever by charming the eyes and sight of the beholders, hee doe seeme in some sort to adulterate and falsifie the substance of man, in making it appeare other then it

is indeede: yet neverthesse doth not the humane substance suffer any change or alteration. G2 So that we may briefly resolve and conclude this point with Saint Thomas of Aquine: "that the divell deceiving and deluding both the inward and outward senses, and consequently the iudgment of men, doth represent vnto them, things divers and farre different from their naturall substances," neither is the same a thing more new or strange vnto him, then it is vnto some men, who by very Art and cunning, and by meanes of certaine candles and fumigations, will cause (as hath beene before touched) that a chamber shall seeme to be full of serpents, albeit in very truth, there be nothing lesse then serpents in the chamber, and onely the eyes are deceived and deluded. In the same sort, howsoever the divell doth represent vnder the true forme of a man, some wolfe, horse, mule, -notes- G1Answer to the 2. example. G2In 2. sententia distinct.8

Page 273

or some such other beast: yet neverthesse the man doth still abide and remaine the same that he was, and hee is not either changed or transformed in any fashion whatsoever, but onely in the imagination of the phantasie, which is possessed and troubled by the divell. And this both all the antient Doctours of the Church, and all the generall Counsells have determined and agreed vppon. And therefore I cannot but marvel, that there should be any men so obstinately addicted and wilfully wedded to their opinions, as to bring in and maintaine against all antiquitie, and contrarie to the Canons, a new kinde of heresie, the which they goe about to proove, onely by such authorities and examples, as they do wrest and pervert to their owne sense and meaning: wherein they doe something savour of the error of Manes, the father of the Manichees; Qui aliquid divinitatis aut numinis extra vnum Deum arburabatur: "who did hold, that there was a kinde of divine power, besides that of the one onely God. For he said, that there were two creators, the one of things earthly and materiall; the other of things celestiall, which doth even iumpe with the opinion of those men." For to make the divell to have such power, as to change the bodie of man into another forme; what other thing is it, then to give and attribute vnto him that power and puissance, as to create a new forme, and thereinto give him a kinde of prerogative over the body of man, which is a thing onely reserved vnto God alone, the creator of all things, both visible and invisible, corporall and incorporall. But this shall suffice as touching Sorcerers, and that transmutation which they do maintaine of humane bodies into the bodies of some other creature: The which in very deede,

neither is, nor can be doone, but onely in apparance (as wee have oftentimes formerly repeated) and onely by the phantasie and imagination corrupted and deluded by the prestigious deceits and illusions of the divell.

Page 274

Now, that we may not wander from that which wee have in hand, wee will heere shew, howe, and in what sort the phantasie also is possessed by the divell, eyther at such time as the humors of the body are disposed and fit for it; or when the person hath bin bewitched and enchanted: or else, by reason of some other secret vnkowne to men, and reserved to the knowledge of God alone. G1 For (as it is most certaine and assured) that the braine of man is the seate of the imagination and the phantasies; and that by the same (by meanes of the organs and instruments proper and fitted therevnto) the conceptions of the sonle are vttered and brought foorth: So, if the Divell doe once perceive that the braine is troubled or offended by any maladies or infirmities which are particularly incident therevnto: as the Epilepsie, or Falling evil, Madnesse, Melancholy, Lunatique fittes, and other such like passions: He presently taketh occasion to torment and trouble it the more: And by the permission of God, seizing himselfe of the same, hee dooth trouble the humours, amaze and confound the senses, captivateth the vnderstanding, possesseth the fantasie, darkneth and blindeth the powers of the soule; and speaking through the organs of the body, being then fitted and made apte to bring to light his owne conceits and devises, he then commeth to shew himselfe in his kind, speaketh strange languages, telleth of things that are chaunced and come to passe in diverse partes of the worlde, prophecieth of things to come (although for the most part he be sound a liat;) and in brieve, he worketh such matvells and wonders, as no man can beleeve are possibly able to proceed from any body of a humane nature. G2 This notwithstanding, some Physitians there be in our time, who will needes reduce this (as also all other things which be supernatural) to the ordinary course and working of nature: and they imagine that they can yeeld a reason for the same: which being well searched, dooth discover it selfe to be most vaine and frivolous, and cannot -notes- G1 How, and in what sort the fantasie of me (02) is possessed and deluded by the Divell. G2 Opinion and reasons of Levinus Lemnius, and other Physitians, who doe art ibute to Nature the strange effects of persons possessed with Divells.

Page 275

not any way in the worlde be maintained. Amongest others. Levinus Lemnius discoursing of the secrets of Nature: and being to handle this poynt, dooth marvellously sticke vppon the contemplat on of humane nature, and of the force of the naturall humours. G1 For these are his wordes: "There is (saith he) a certaine wonderfull force and vertue which doth stirre vp the humors, and a certaine vehement heate dooth disturbe and moove the imaginative power, at such time as the sicke persons in the extreame and burning heate of their fevers do speake and vtter foorth sometimes openly and with a kinde of eloquence, and sometimes confusedly, and (as it were) stuttering and stammering such languages as they never knewe nor learned: And it is most sure that there be some humours so sharp and violent, that when they come to be enflamed or corrupted, so as their fuliginous excrements doe strike vppe to the braine, they will make those that are surprized therewithall, to stagger and stutter in their speech, not vnlike those that are overcome with wine, and will make them to chatter and talke in a straunge language. Now if this did de proccede of any evill spirites, then would not the infirmitie cease by the Arte of the Phisitian, and by purgative medicines or other drugges applied to the patients, causing them to sleepe: For we see, that ordinarily, by such medicines, they doe returne into their right mindes, and into their accustomed manner of speaking. And for prooffe hereof Levinus dooth adde, That himselfe hath healed some sicke persons, who in the fitte of their fever have bin very eloquent, even so farre, as they have pronounced a speech as if it had beene an Oration deeply studied, and most accomplished in all respects: and yet the parties in the time of their health wore very rude persons, and little better than ideots. After all this he goeth forward, and beginning to ground himselfe vpon certaine reasons, hee saieth, As it is most certaine, -notes- G1Levinus Lemnius his opinion of men possessed with spirites. Lib.2.cap.2. collect.de occult. nat.miraculis, cui adde Cornelium Gemmam qui de miraculis naturæ itidem librum composuit.

Page 276

that the boyling and arising of the humours is marvellous and exceeding hore and ardent, and the stirring and agitation of the sensitive spirits is very vehement: and above all this, the troubling and mooving of the soule, being quicke and sodaine: we may not marvell nor thinke it strange, if (as by the beating and striking together of the stint and the steele, there are forced out sparkles of fire:) so also by the agitation of the spirits, the arising and boiling of the humours, and the mooving of the soule of man, he may, by the organs, fit and proper therevnto, vtter

foorth speeches never heard before, and some strange language, til then vnknown. Now the sacultie of the soule is very apte and readily disposed to perceiue and apprehend the knowledge of things, and to be embewed with their principles even before such time as it commeth to vse them: in such sort as the opinion of Plato seemeth to have some likelihoode of truth: that our knowledge and vnderstanding is no other thing than a kinde of remembring: For even so the soule (which is the principall and most diuine parte of man) at such time as it is stirred and mooued against the naturall motion thereof, and beginneth to bee troubled with corporall maladies, it dooth then also happen to vtter and putte foorth that which lay before hidden and concealed in the most profound and inward partes thereof: (to witte) such faculties and forces as bee even diuine and celestiall. And like as there be some trees and plants which doe not cast foorth from themselves any good scent or odour, but onely when they are rubbed and chafed with the hand: even so the faculties and powers of the soule doe never so shew themselves, as when they come to be stirred and mooued. And by the same reason the jeate and the amber will not be made to drawe vppe to them the strawe or the rush, till such time as they be first rubbed, and a long time chafed betweene the handes. And whereof commeth it (saith Levinus further)

Page 277

that they which be neere to the point of death, do commonly prophecie (the which Homer also witnesseth in diuers bookes of his Iliads) except it be because an vnaccustomd force, exciting and stirring vp it selfe within them before death, doth as it were, ravish them in a kind of diuine inspiration, in such sort, as they be besides themselves, and doe suffer themselves to be carried away with the power of the spirit or soule, which is then set on discoursing, vttering by their mouthes, such things as are afterwards to ensue and come to passe." G1 But let Levinus say what he list, as a Phisitian: he cannot for all that perswade me, that men do naturally speake diuers languages, vnlesse it be, either by miracle, and by the power of the holy spirit of God, as did the Apostles; or else by the aide and helpe of the diuell, as did they whome the antient Christians of the Primitive Church called Euergetemenous; and whom we call Demoniacques, or persons possest. G2 "Yea but (saith he) the agitation of the humours by sicknesse, and the moouing of the soule, (both which doe cooperate and worke together) may worke wonders, and make them to speake diuers languages." To this I answer; that it is not either the humours or the soule, which do cause a man in his sicknesse or fever to speake diuers languages; but it

is the divell, who doth (as wee have said) mingle himselfe in the humours being corrupted. And so is the resolution vpon this point of Saint Thomas Aquinas, who speaking of lunaticall persons vexed by the divell, according to the encrease and decrease of the Moone, saith, that the divells doe consider howe the humours of the bodie, are disposed to their effectes, and accordingly, they doe follow the course of the Moone, which hath a certaine commanding power over the braine and the humours, in such sort, as a man shall see more lunatike persons tormented by the divell, then of anie other sorts whatsoever. The words of that Doctour are these: "The reasons -notes- G1Aliad. a. G2Levinus Lemnius opinion confuted.

Page 278

why the divells do the more exercise their rage, according to the encrease of the Moone, is for two respects. First, because that thereby they may make the creature of God; to wit, the Moone the more infamous, as saith both Saint Ierome and Saint Iohn Chrysostome. G1 Secondly, for that they doe vsually worke according to the naturall virtues and faculties, and in their workings and effects doe consider the aptnesse and disposition of the body. G2 Now it is manifest, that the braine, of al other parts of the body, is the most moist; (as Aristotle affirmeth) and for that cause, it is principally subiect vnder the domination and power of the Moone, the which by her particular propertie, hath the power to moove the humours, and they troubling the braine, doe give occasion to the divell, to mixe and convey himselfe into and amongst them, and so to trouble the phantasie of the partie." G3 Thus you see the very words vsed by this Doctour, which may serve also against Hippocrates, who derided some in his time, that thought the Falling-evill to be caused, onely by the wrath and anger of the gods, and not of any disturbance or depravation of the braine. G4 "And for that cause, (as hee saith) they vsed then expiations and charmes, to chase and drive away this sacred evill or disease: the which hee denied to bee a thing that ought in any sort to bee beleevd, that the gods did in any sort cause it; because the body of man could not be any waies polluted or defiled by the gods, they being pure and chaste: And by the vsing of expiations and purgations, it must be inferred, that they touching our bodies do pollute and defile them, the which to beleevd of the divine powers, could not but be blasphemous and wicked." G5 But this Phisitian did not consider, that there were many sorts of gods amongst the Paynims, and that those which they held to be terrestrial and infernal they called numina lava: that is, Hurtful gods, or evil spirits, such as vsed to possesse -notes- G1Incap. 4. super Mathe. Homil. 54 in

Mathe. G2Lib. de somne and vigilia. G3Questione 115. Tim.
1.sacræ Theologiæ Art.5. G4Lib.de sacro morbo. Hypocrates, his
opinion touching the Falling-evill. G5Hypocrates, his opinion
confuted.

Page 279

the bodies and to hurt them. And for this cause did they vse to
make their supplications vnto them, for feare lest they should
doe them some harme: And if they did finde themselves to have
any evill and vnquiet nights, and ill dreames by them, then did
they vse to purge and cleanse themselves, as we shall heereafter
shew in another place fit for that purpose. This sheweth plainly,
that Hippocrates knew not well what to thinke: whether the gods
did inwardly possesse and seize vpon the body of the partie
troubled with the Epilepsie, or surprized with the Falling evill,
seeing he alleadgeth no other reason then this, (I know not how)
taken from his Paganisme, which we have shewed to be very
vaine, and of no moment, even by the opinion of those of his
owne religion. I doe not in any sort reprove those good reasons
which he afterwarde yeeldeth in shewing, that from the braine
(troubled and offended, doth proceede this discae of the
Epilepsie or the Falling evil: But I say, (according to the
resolution of Saint Thomas Aquine,) that the divell may possesse
the humours being corrupted, or the braine being so troubled
and offended of the partie so diseased, and that this is a thing
that doth happen vsually and commonly. G1 And I wot wel, that
the anient Magitians, to call vp their divells or spirits, and to
know of them such things as were to come, did helpe themselves
with the bodies of Epileptiques and persons troubled with that
disease: Into the which, the divells did easily enter, at such time
as the evill or fit tooke them, and did speake by their mouthes
vnto the Magitians, or by some other externall signes, did
declare vnto them what was to come. G2 And I remember that I
have read in Apuleius, that he was accused before the Proconsull
of Affricke, how that he aided himselfe with his servant Thallus,
being surprized with the Falling-sicknesse, at such time as he
performed his magicke sacrifices. And hee defended or excused
himselfe of this crime so coldely, -notes- G1That the divell doth
serve himselfe of the humours or braine in men corrupted, and
so seizing on the same, doth enter into the bodies of such
distempered persons in the time of their fittes. G2Apologia. 1.
Apuleius servum suum Thallum remetis arbitris secreto loco,
arula, and lucerna and paucia consciis carmina cantatum
corruere fecit, deinde nescium sui excitavit. Obiection touching
strange languages and prophecies, and c. vttered by persons
distempered, that it should be by nature corrupted.

that he seemeth to consent therevnto: And it is well knowne, that next to Apollonius Thianeus, he was one of the greatest Magitians that can be remembred. But (saith yet Levinus,) those medecines that doe purge Melancholie, Madnesse, Burning-fevers, the Epilepsie, and such like; do cause all those thinges to cease, which we affirm to be caused in such bodies by the divels; namely, to speake strange languages, to prophecie and fore-tell things to come, to tell wonders of things past, and to doe that which is not possible for man to doe by nature: Therefore it may be concluded, that it is not the divell, but rather Nature corrupted, which so moves the humors and stirres vp and troubles the soule in that maner. But I doe vtterly deny, that the divells by medecines can be driven or cast out of such bodies, neither can hee proove it vnto me by any example. G1 I am not ignorant that Pomponatius writeth, that the antient Exorcists or Coniurers did purge with helleboras, the bodies of such as were beset with divells, before they made their coniurations: howbeit he cannot alleadge or bring me any good and sound historie to proove his saying. G2 And though he affirme, that the wife of Frauncis Maigret Savetier of Mantua, (who spake divers languages) was healed by Calceran, a famous Phisitian of his time, who did minister vnto her a potion of helleborus: And that Erasmus agreeing with him, doth write, how hee himselfe saw a man of Spoleta in Italie, that spake the Almaine tong very well, albeit hee had never beene in Almaine, and that (after a medecine had beene given vnto him) hee did avoid by the fundament, a great number of wormes, and so was healed, and did never after speake the Almaine tongue any more: yet doe I hold the truth of this very suspitious; and do rather give credite to Fernelius, one of -notes- G1 Answer to the former Obiection, and that the divell cannot be cast out of bodies possest by medecines. De precantat. But it appears not that those purges did ex pell the divell. Inoratio: de laudibus medecine. G2 It might bee rather, that the divels left these presently vpon the medecines given them, onely because he would have men beleeve and wickedly attribute this power to bee in phisicke, rather then to any worke of God, though it were not indeed by any vertue of the phisicke. Lib.3.cap.16.de abdit.rer.causis.

the greatest Phisitians of our age, who doth vtterly denie, that there is any such power in phisicke: And he reciteth a historie of a young Gentleman the sonne of a Knight of the Order, who being possessed by the divell, could not in any sorte be healed

by any potions, medicines, or diet ministred vnto him, but onely by Coniurations and Exorcismes. G1 And even in our time there was better triall made heereof in that woman or Demoniacque of Vervin, who for all the medicaments that were given vnto her, by those of the pretended reformed religion, could never be healed, but onely by the vertue and efficacie of the holy Sacrament of the Altare. But to come to other matters of this kinde: As little reason also have the Astrologers to attribute vnto their Starres such force and influence, as to say, That they doe infuse and instill into humane bodies certaine admirable faculties, and so doe cause them to speake divers and straunge languages: for their opinion is as farre from the trueth, and to be abhorred, as that of the Phisitions, neither can they finde any reasons, whereby they are able, or ought to perswade, that the Starres are the cause of any such myracle chauncing in the bodies of men. And howsoever for prooffe of their Assertion they doe vrge, That the Moone, according to the encreasing and decreasing thereof dooth produce very terrible effectes in the bodies of Lunatique persons: and that according to certaine constellations of the Starres the corporall matter is disposed more or lesse to receive the celestiall Impressions: yet dooth it not followe for all that, That the Lunatiques in speaking and vttering diverse languages, are not surprised and possessed by the Divell, but that the same their diversity of tongues should proceed from the Starres. For what should I say more? But that the auntient Paynims themselves were not ignorant, but did acknowledge, that both Melancholique persons. Madmen, and Lunatiques, speaking diverse and sundry languages and prophecyings, were men possessed with -notes- G1 Nor by that neither. You may assoone beleieve the one as the other: for all phisicke, all superstitions, and Coniurations are of like efficacie in this case. Opinion of the Astrologers confuted. That the spca king of strange languages and c. by persons distempered in their bodies, proceedeth of the influence of the Starres.

Page 282

Divelles: And therefore they did vse to call them Fanaticos, and sometimes Ceritos, as if they shoulde say; Persons stricken by Ceres, sometimes Demetriolectous, and Numpholeptous, and Daimonountas, as Lucian witnesseth, and sometimes persons possessed by Hecate, which was an infernall divell, or by Heros, as saith Hippocrates. G1 And in the Bible, in the bookes of Kings, wee see that Saul being in a melancholique passion was assailed and vexed with an evill spirite, and had no other remedie to drive away this evill but the Harpe of David. To make short, Levinus himselfe is constrained to confesse, That the

humours are the principall cause of all maladies partaking of melancholy, or of any fever: But that the Divells, the Starres, the Qualitie of the ayre adioyning, and other things externall do accompany them as accidents. G2 And therefore away with all these reasons of the Naturalists, who because they will deny that there be any Divells, doe attribute and yeelde more power vnto humane nature, and to the Starres, than to the Spirits that are supernaturall, and above nature: the which they can not comprehend to be by any means in essence, because they doe too too much ground themselves vpon nature, and do not acknowledge any thing above or beyond it. G3 But some of them there be, who passe yet further on, and doe affirme, that the charmes and enchauntments wherewith they do enchaunt and constraine men, (be it either to the loving of some woman, or to hate her, so as they cannot endure to dwell and abide with her) do proceede from the vertue of hearbes, or the starres, or from the imagination troubled and corrupted, rather than of any working or power of the Divell. G4 And they doe alleadge for their authoritie the Physitian Avicen, who "saith, that Enchantment have not any effect or force in nature, nor any vertue or power to change the health of any man, or the state of his welfare into sickenes or infirmities. And that they (which are of opinion, that there bee any enchaunted) doe enchaunt themselves -notes- G1 Ceritus quasi Cerevistus gravis [Greek omitted] Plautus in P nulo, neque nos populus pro Cevitis insectabit lapidibus. De sacro morbo I: Reg. G2 Lib. 2. cap. 1. de occult. nat. miraelis. G3 Opinion of those that doe attribute all charmes and enchantments vnto the vertue of hearbs and c. G4 Opinion of Avicen touching enchauntments.

Page 283

by the vehemencie of their imagination. And these men doe alleadge that also which he afterwarde reciteth vaunting of himselfe: "For my part, (saith hee) I make no account of any Sorcerer whatsoever: neither doe I knowe any Enchaunter, be hee never so cunning and expert in his Arte, that can constraine me against my will, to lift vp, or to moove so much as my little finger. And more than so, I never knewe any that hath himselfe to be enchaunted, but I have healed and delivered him from that imagination, that hee hath beene enchaunted." Vpon this authoritie do they relie, vtterly reiecting and disallowing any Enchauntments to be wrought by meanes of Divells, and consequently, denying their essence and being. Neverthelesse, for any thing saide by Avicen, there are so many experiences to the contrary of such as have been inchaunted and bewitched, that it were a poynt of too too great incredulitie to doubt of it. G1

And as touching that they say; That if there be any charmes and enchauntments in Nature, the same proceedeth of the force of hearbes, and of the influence of the starres, rather than of any spirits: Therein is no great apparance of any truth or veritie: For if it were so, it must meedes followe, that the wordes and speeches which Enchaunters and Sorcerers doe vtter, shoulde not have any force nor efficacie. G2 But it hath beene a thing approved by all Antiquitie, that divers have beene enchanted by wordes and speeches vttered, which Lucan a very learned Poet and great Philosopher dooth testifie, saying; Mens hausti nulla sanie polluta veneni Excantata perit. A man inchaunted runneth madde, That never any poyson had. I confes indeede, that God hath given many properties vnto hearbes, and vnto simples, yea and those so admirable, that they have the power and vertue, not -notes- G1Avicen his opinion confuted. G2That charmes and enchantments doe not proceede of the vertne of hearbes, and c.

Page 284

onely to preserve our humane bodies in health, but also vtterly to overthrow and to bring it to confusion, in such sort as if the same were enchanted. Nevertheless, that they should so worke vpon the body, that the soule inwardly should feele the force and effect thereof, it is not possible, nor to be beleaved, except that together with the hearbes there be intermingled some charmes or wordes of enchantment. And of this was not Ovid ignorant, as appeareth by that which hee speaketh of Medea, saying; Protinus horrendis infamia pabula succis. G1 Couterit and tritis Hecæteia carmina miscet. Then horride herbs and hateful drugs together she doth bruse, And in the bruising, damned spels and hellish charms doth vse. And that of the learned Poet Virgil; Miscuerunt[que] (23) herbas and non innoxia verba. G2 which is And therewith all they mingle sundrie hearbs Ever and among vsing not harmelesse words. But more plainely and manifestly doth Propertius recount, how the Sorcerers doe give a force and power vnto their hearbs, thereby to enchant and charme persons, did vse to stirre and moove them in some ditch, into the which they made some floud of raine or water to come: Quippe and Collinas ad fossam moverit herbas Stantia currenti diluerentur aqua. G3 Within some ditch she stirs her hearbs which she had placed There, with the running water to be washed. Now Apuleius and other antient Authors have written, that Sorcerers did vse to worke and do their charmes in some ditch or pit: And therefore Propertius in those verses bringing in a Sorceresse mooving and stirring her hearbes in a ditch, what other thing doth he intend to shew, but that together with the

hearbs, there were mingled -notes- G1Lib.9.Metamorp. G2Lib.3. Georgia. G3Lib. 5. Elegiarum.

Page 285

also certaine charmes, the which did give a force and vigour to the hearbs to worke wonders by the cooperation of the divell.G1 Furthermore Virgil doth recite yet other ceremonies which the Sorcerers vsed in gathering of their hearbes, all which were nothing else but damnable, superstitious and diuinish inventions: as to cut them in the night time by the light of the Moone-shine with a hooke of brasse, which maketh me also to remember certaine observations of the Magitians and Sorcerers in times past, in cutting of their hearb Elleborus, Mandragoras, and the herbe Panaceum, whereof Theophrastus speaketh, and derideth it as a foolish and vaine superstition: and those also of the Druides, amongst the antient Gaules, who vsed, without any knife or yron, to plucke the hearbe which they called Selago, and in gathering thereof, they went alwayes clothed or apparrelled with a kinde of white surplisse, with their feete bare and naked, verie cleane and well washed: and before that they gathered it, their fashion was to consecrate bread and wine, and after they had gathered it, to put the same into a faire white napkin, as Plinie writeth of them.G2 G3 Moreover, it is a most grosse absurditie to affirme, that the hearbes being gathered at such time as certaine starres do raigne, should in some point participate of the power and vertue of those same starres; and that they should sometimes have such a power over and vpon the hearts of men, as to make them to hate and to love, or to cause them to be hated or loved, and to bring them into favour and credite with Lords and great personages, or to cause their disgrace and disfavour with them.G4 For this is but an idle invention of the Astrologers, sufficiently heeretofore refuted by Picus Mirandola, and condemned also by the daily experience which we have thereof to the contrarie. And if there have beene happily some few which have made prooffe, (according to their desire,) of that which the Astrologers have profest and vndertaken; -notes- G1Lib.4. Aeneid. Falcibus and lunæ ad lumen quærantur adhenis Pubentes herbæ nigri cum lacte veneni. G2Lib.9.de historia herbatum cap.9 G3Lib.24.cap.11. G4That neither they ertue of hearbes, nor the influence of the starres can worke or rule the affections of men to love or hatred.

Page 286

yet this maketh not, that therefore their Art should bee any thing the more esteemed or set by, no more then dreames are esteemed or held in any reckoning; albeit many have found the

effects of them as they have dreamed.G1 Nay, more then so, I dare say thus much; that if such hearbes, gathered vnder the influence of the starres, doe happen to worke and to fall out in prooffe, according to the will of the partie that gathereth them: it is the diuell that doth so cooperate and worke with it, rather then any power or vertue of the starres; because thereby he intendeth to bring men into an errour, and to thinke that there is a certaine kind of diuinitie or divine power in the starres: and (according as Thomas of Aquine affirmeth.) to imprint in their mindes, a certaine terrour and feare of the puissance and power of the starres: the which is a ching whereof the Prophet Ieremie willed the Iewes to take heede of, Vmeothoth hashamaine al-theh-hathuci lehhathu hagoim mehemma: that is to say; Feare ye not the signes of heaven: for of them do the Gentiles stand enfeare.G2 And therefore they who have vsed to attribute such power vnto hearbes, cut or gathered vnder the influence of the starres, are vtterly to be reiected: as the Philosophers Thebanus, Alexander, Trallian, Albertus surnamed Magnus, Eudemus, Necepsus, Andræas, and Pamphilus, Phisitians, of whom we have before spoken, and those persons also which were called Horescopos, whom likewise the Divines do vtterly reprove and condemne in this behalfe. G3 But before wee will shut vp this Discourse of witchcraft and enchantments, and that which may bee saide touching the same, I hold it not amisse, (and it will be very little from the matter which we have in hand,) to set downe heere in this place, the report of a certaine accident that came to bee in controversie, and was debated and decided in the court of Parliament of Paris: The question was touching a processe made extraordinarily against a young man, in a cause wherein he was charged, -notes- G1Questio 115. Tomo.1. lummæ sacræ Theolog. G2Cap.20. G3The historie of a young má that soght to winne the love of a maid by charmes, and was therfore sued and condemned by the law.

Page 287

that by certaine scroles or papers, and such like charmes, he attempted the honour and chastitie of one whom he loved: whether the same processe ought to be admitted and received. The cause was pleaded as a verball appellation in the Court Criminall, by two famous advocates of the palace, and it seemeth that it was vpon an appeale, first brought from the ludge of Lavall.G1 The summe of the processe was thus: A certaine young man being exceedingly enamored on a young gentle woman descended of a great house, and desiring to purchase her in mariage, yet seeing his owne meanes and abilitie to bee so small, as he found little hope to get the consent of her parents

therevnto, and by that meane to attaine to the top of his desires: Besides, perceiving that she was sollicit, by divers persons of great calling and good reputation, he bethought himselfe of a shorter course, as hee imagined, and that was, to gaine the love of the maiden by any meanes whatsoever. To this effect he continually haunted and frequented the house where she was: and courting her with all kindes of submissive and humble entreaties, and with proffers of all his best services, (which he supposed might bee most agreeable, and to her contentment) he endeavoured to gaine her love, and to winne her affections. In the end, seeing himselfe scorned, and in a manner, cleane out of hope of that which he most desired, hee determined to make triall of an extreame remedie: And therevpon going to a certaine Priest, (who was a notorious Sorcerer, and did vse to give out little scroles or billets to procure love:) hee tooke of him one of those papers, and finding his mistrisse in a place fitte for the purpose, he conveyed the paper into her bosome, whilst himselfe made semblance that he was but playing and ieasting with her. But it happened farre otherwise then hee imagined: for thinking to gaine her love, he cast such drugges or (whether it were) such charmes into her bosome, that they brought the maiden neere to the point of death. Her father and mother being marvelously - notes- G1This cause was pleaded, and the arest or iudgement affirmed by Monsieure Pilcar the 16 of Aprill. 1580.

Page 288

sadde and sorrowfull for her sicknesse, were certified in the end, what was the cause thereof: And therefore causing an information to be drawne and preferred against the young man, they got a decree against him to have his bodie apprehended, the which was executed accordingly: And afterwardes the Iudge gave sentence, that the lawe shoulde proceede peremptorily vpon the hearing of the witnesses, personally brought against him. From this sentence, as also from the decree touching his apprehension was the appeale broght, and the pleading thereof was offred to a present hearing. "The Appellant said, that he had beene offered great and evident wrong, in that the inferior Iudge had not onely decreed a Capias against his body, but had also adiudged that the lawe shoulde proceede vpon the evidence of the witnesses personally brought against him. That it was very true, and hee did acknowledge that which was laide in the information: and that hee did put into the bosome of the Complainants daughter a little scroll of paper written; but that there was not therein, either any drugges or poyson, nor any other such thing as might woorke an alteration in the health of the mayden. That if hee had conveyed anie poyson into it, there

was no doubt, but he had beene worthy of capitall punishment, according to the fifth chapter of the Lawe Cornelia; Si quis venenum necandi bominis causa habuerit. G1 That the saide scroll of paper could not be any poyson, for to empoison any bodie, neither had it any such force or vertue, but that it was onely a writing which he had cast into the bosome of the maide, not thinking any evill or hurt to her: And that therfore ther was no cause why any such extraordinary processe should be made and granted against him; That it was a thing never heard of in that palace, that an extraordinary criminall accusation shoulde be laide against any man, that in a foolish wantonnes and youthfull oversight onely, without any will or intent to -notes- G1L.3.D.ad l. Cornelia de Sicariis.

Page 289

doe evill, had adventured to doe that towards a maiden, which in very trueth did not deserve so much as the name of a simple iniury. For howsoever he didde fondly in casting this paper into the bosome of the maide; yet did hee not attempt to wrong her honour or chastitie: neither didde he pursue or sollicite her in any shamelesse manner: neither did he vse any dishonest or vnseemely speeches vnto her, that might cause her so much as to blush at them: And in briefe, that he had not offered her any such foule or bitter iniury, for the which hee had deserved, by the Lawe, either reproofe or any extraordinary punishment.G1 And if it did so happen and fall out by chaunce afterward, that the maide became sicke; yet it was no consequent, that he should be the cause of her sickenes. Not without reason was that saying of the Greeke Poet Euripides, That all those things which happened casually, were very diverse: and that the gods, contrary to humane exspectation, did take a pleasure to change things here belowe, [Greek omitted]. There is not any man so sound and healthfull, that can assure himselfe of his health, not so much as a day: and who knoweth what the evening or the morning may cause to betide vnto him, either prosperous, or vnfortunate: many things doe happen (as the olde saying is) betweene the cuppe and the lippe. Yea but the Complainant saith and averreth, That in the scroll of paper there were certaine words charmed, by force whereof their daughter fell sicke: Certainly their speech is grounded vpon a very vaine and fraile foundation; and the same vtterly overthrowes and destroys al their accusation. For what man is there so litle seene, or so vnskilfull in the course and causes of nature, that will beleieve that charmes and enchauntments can have any power vpon men: and that a figure, a writing, a line, or a word, bredde onely

by the refraction of the aire, should worke above and beyond nature, -notes- G1L.vlt.D.de Iniur.

Page 290

and should have power to alter or change it in any sort whatsoever. Every man knoweth sufficiently how that the Caball of the Iewes (which dooth attribute so great force to writings, and to the speaking, and pronounciation of certaine wordes) hath beene reprovved and hissed out of the Schooles by all learned Divines: and that Reuclin the Almaine and others, who have allowed and consented to the fond dotages and follies of the Caballists and Iewish Rabbines have beene censured and condemned by the Maisters of Sorbonne, who did holde, that all those enchauntments, charmes, and woordes which the Cabal vseth, are nothing but meere Magicke; and therefore without any efficacie, as comming from the divell, who lost all his power at the comming of our Saviour Christ into the world: as hee himselfe hath confessed, even by his Oracles, vppon enquirie and demaund made to them by the Gentiles that lived after Christ. Yea, the Paynimes themselves (which were guided and mis-led by the Divell, did ever esteeme the Arte Magicke, and all sortes of charmes to be nothing else but deceiptes and illusions. And Plinie reciteth how the Emperour Nero after hee hadde searched into all the secretes of Magicke, and had spared no paines to sound the deapth thereof; in the end hee found, that it was but a meere abuse: neither could Tyridates nor Simon Magus perfourme any thing, although they had promised to acquaint him with the full knowledge and science of the same. Besides, it cannot any where be found, that any person whatsoever, was ever accused of beeing a Magician, vnder the good and wise Emperours of Rome: For they knew well, that all accusation is to be held and accompted vaine, where there is no lawfull colour of trespas committed. G1 And it is most certaine, that Apuleius (who lived vnder those good Princes Anteninus Pbilosophus, and Pertinax, being accused before Claudius Maximus the Governour of Affricke, -notes- G1L. Gracchus C. ad legem Iul: de adult.

Page 291

That he had allured and gained to his love one Pudentilla, and had so bewitched her, that he had wrought her to marry him:) was fully acquitted from that accusation, as being frivolous, vaine, and calumnious. On the contrary, those Emperours which were helde wicked and cruell Princes, did finde a faire colour and pretence by the Arte Magicke, and the Mathematiques, to bring such vnder danger of torment and punishment, against whom they beare any malice and hatred when they were not able to

accuse and calumniate them of any other fault or offence. How many noble and honourable Romans both men and women didde the Emperour Tiberius cause to be put to death, onely vnder colour that they had consulted with the Chaldeans? The Emperour Claudius, of whome Ausonius speaketh, That," Non faciendo nocens sed patiando fuit. That is, The hurt he did, was not in dooing ill, But, in the patient suffring therof still. "Did condemne to die (as beeing a Sorcerer) a poore Knight of Rome, because hee bare about him the egge of a Serpents beeing perswaded that the same was good to cause his suite in lawe to goe on his side.G1 And Antenine Caracalla (as saith Spartian) did likewise condemne those that vsed to carry any tickets or writings tied about their neckes, for a remedy against the Tertian and Quartane fevers. The historie is wel known of Apollonius Thianeus, whome Domuian a wicked Prince did cause to be tormented for his Arte Magicke: albeit those that came and succeeded after him, to wit, Alexander the sonne of Mammea and Aurelianus did honour him during his life, aud after his death did consecrate Altares and Oratories vnto him. And in briefe, all the worlde knoweth, howe that Valens and Valentinian (for causing so many famous and learned -notes- G1In vita Cærac.

Page 292

Philosophers, and so many noble and woorthy Senatours and Roman Knights to be punished for the science of Magicke, have beene reprooved and blamed by many Historiographners, as namely, Eunapius, Zosymus, Ammian Marcellan, and others, who in that regarde onely have over-ranged them in the rancke and number of evill Emperours: And they doe marvellously blame those Commissaries to whome the triall and enquiry of this crime was committed; if that may and ought to be called a crime, which is rather a vayne perswasion or inveterate superstition, bred and ingraffed in the hearts of men." And therefore the Appellant concluded, That both the Decree, the Ordinance, and the Execution was ill and vniust; and that the Iudgement ought to be corrected and amended, and the partie to bee cleerely dismissed, absolved, and acquitted. On the contrary parte, the Defendaunt in the appeale saide and affirmed; "That the cause was rightly adiudged by the inferiour Iudge: And that it was wel and iustly ordered, that extraordinary processe should be made and awarded against the Appellant: That not onely the Lawe Cornelia, did punish those which should bruise and temper any noysome poysons, to the hurte of an other, but those also, Qui mala sacrificia fecerant; habuerant: Which had or made any ill sacrifices. Meaning vndoubtedly by ill sacrifices, the practise of Magicke. And this did the Roman Emperours interpretate more

plainely, saying; Eorum scientiam esse puniendam and sæverissimis meritò legibus vindicandam, qui Magicis accincti artibus aut contra salutem, hominum molliti aut pudicos animes ad libiàinem deflexisse detegentur. That their skill and science was woorthy to be punished and chasticed with severe laws, who by Art Magike should either contrive to impaire the health of people, or should be detected to allure vnto lust and lewdnes, such as were benestly and chastly addicted. Nowe as touching

Page 293

the Appellant, it appeared by the Information broght against him, that hee hadde cast into the bosome of a yoong maiden a small scroll, not of paper (as hee alleadged) but of Virgine parchmin, such as Magicians, Sorcerers, and Enchaunters doe vse; and thereby did thinke to have attempted her chastitie: the prooffe whereof did plainely appeere, in that hee had before solicited her, and sought to have her in marriage. And for that cause, having vsed sinister and wicked vnlawfull meanes; as namely, by Magicke and Witchcraft, to come to his intended purpose, he was woorthic to be punished; and processe extraordinarily ought to be graunted and awarded against him: That the lawe Cornelia did put little or no difference betweene poysons and amorous drinckes, and betweene charmes and enchauntments: all which in the Greeke tongue were called and named by one, and the same word [Greek omitted], which appeareth also by that Treatise of Theocritus called Pharmacentria; wherein he introduceth a Sorceresse, who by force, not onely of her Bird named [Greek omitted], which as Langius the Physitian saith, the Almaines doe call Windals, or Wasserothss, or Rhuerdrommel: and the Latines Frutilla, but also by means of hearbes, holy wordes, and other such like charmes woulde drawe and allure her love vnto her. And true it is; That Empedocles having made a booke of Sorcery or Magicke, dooth shew the same much more cleerely and manifestly, confounding by this worde [Greek omitted] (wherewith hee beginneth his Booke) both charmed hearbes, and enchaunted words, and the very skill and arte of Sorcerie; [Greek omitted] saith hee;" [Greek omitted], and c. "And as touching those that doe vse to give either any kinde of poison, or any amorous love-drinckes: the paines ordained for them by the antient Roman laws were manifest. For the vise, baset, and meanest

Page 294

sort of persons, (as the Civilliaus speake;) Debent subyei bestys, honestiore loco posits capite puniri, altiore, deportari: ought to be cast to wilde beasts to be devoured: such as are of a more

honest and better calling, were to be beheaded, and those of the best and highest degree, were adiudged to be banished.G1 The Persians (as 'Plutarch reporteth) did cause the heads of such persons to be crushed in peeces betweene two stones.G2 And as for Apuleius, he was accused before Claudius Maximus of three things, all comprised vnder one and the same terme of Magike or Sorcerie; to wit, that he had given an amorous potion or love-drinke vnto his wife: that he had vsed both hearbes and certaine poisons for the working of his enchauntments: and last of all, that he did vse certaine charmes and sacred magicall words: And it hee had not had the favour and friendship of Lollianus Avitus, and of Claudius the friend of Lollianus, it had gone hard with him. But in the time of Valentinsan, the great Philosopher Maximus, the disciple of Iamblicus, sped nothing so well; for being accused of the same crime, hee was iustly condemned to die, neither could the favor which the Emperour Iulian bare him, in any sort save and preserve him. To make short, the Greekes, and namely the Athenians, did so exceedingly hate and abhorre this detestable crime, that they would never admitte nor frame any forme of processe against those that were attainted therewithall, but they did presently and immediately cause them to be slaine; as appeareth by Lemnia a Sorceresse, who (as Demosthenes affirmeth) was put to death for this offence, after she was bewraied and discovered by her chamber-maid.G3 The Romans also did burne all the bookes of their king Numa, which did containe matter of Magicke, as both Titus Livius and Plinie doe report. G4 And our Civill Lawyers do will, that all Iudges in their iudgements concerning the division of families, (which they call Eamiliæ erciscndæ,) should burne -notes- G1L.3. § legis Corneliæ D.ad legem Cornel. de sire. G2In vita Artaxerxis. G3Deead.4.li. 10. G4Lib.13 cap.13.

Page 295

all bookes discovered to be magicall.G1 Tantundem (say they) debebunt facere and in libris improbatæ lectionis Magicis forte and his similibus: bac enim omnia proprosonus corrumpenda sunt. Wherefore look how much the Authors of such bookes are to be hated: so much, or more, do they greevously adiudge them to be punithed, whensoever they finde anye attainted and convicted, either to have made, or to have vsed them in any sort whatsoever. Besides, the virgine Parchmin, (which the Appellant vsed) is one of the precepts of Magicke, which cannot bee fitted nor'vsed to any other effect then to an ill end: and this Parchmin is vsually made by enchantment of the skinne of infants dead borne: and it is intended, that the same is done with an expresse or secret consederation made with the divell: insomuch, as

Agrippa, Petrus de Albano, Picatrix, and other the like detestable and wicked Magitians, doe no lesse praise and commend Virgine Parchmin, then the Magitians of old times, as Orpheus did commend the stone called an Agate, which they saide, was able to do all things that a man would desire." G2 [Greek omitted] "To be briefe, to as great effect doth the Virgine Parchmin serve, as doth the amorous potion or love-drinke, of which (as the saying is) Lucretius the Poet died; and Catigula the Emperor became with such another to bee enraged, and in a sort, distracted, and out of his wits : his wife Ceronia having given him such a kinde of drinke; who for that cause was also slaine by the souldiers that had before killed her husband, as Iosephus reporteth. G3 G4 And more then so, this seemeth to be that Hippomanes, which is apt to stirre and procure love, no lesse then the true Hippomanes plucked from the fore-head of a horse colre, whereof Virgil, Propertius, -notes- G1L.4.§ 1.D. famil, ercis. G2In lib.de lapidibus. G3Iuvenal. sary. Cui totam tremuli frontem Cerania pulli Infudit. G4Lib. 19. cap. 2. Antiqustatum.

Page 296

and other Poets do speake much; or that Hippomanes which (as Theocritus reporteth) was planted amongst the Arcadians:" -----
 ---[Greek omitted] G1 "Or that fish called Remora, which (as Aristotle saith) was good for love, and for happie successe in suites of law: Or the bird called Sippe, spoken of by the same Artstotle, or the Lezart bruized and infused in wine, according as Theocritus prescribeth: or that Haire which is found in the end of a Woolfestaile; or else the bone of a Frogge or Toade, which hath beene cast into a nest of Ants, by whom the flesh thereof hath beene gnawne away, as Plinis affirmeth. G2 Besides all this, in this scrole of Virgine parchmine, now in question, there were written certaine barbarous and vnknowne words; which dooth sufficiently shew, that this was a verie true magicall charme and enchantment. And whereas it is said, that charmes or enchantments, have no power or efficacie to worste any thing: and that therefore any accusation which shall be framed or intended against those that vse them, is to be held vaine and frivolous: what other thing is this then to reprove all antiquitie, and all those antient lawe-makers, and the Roman Decemviri, who did all of them ever acknowledge, that there were charmes and enchantments. For in the Lawes of the Twelve Tables it is expresly forbidden; Ne quis fruges excantet and alienam segetena pelliciat. That no man-should vse any charmes or excantations vpon the carne and graine of another man.G3 And the learned Plinie in his naturall histostorie, giveth vs a certaine experiment of such as drew the fruites of another man out of the

owners ground, into another field: For he saith, that in the territorie of the Marruciues, which is in Abruzzo, a garden of Olive-trees belonging to Vectius Mæraellus, a famous -notes- G1Lib.4.Aeneid. and 3. Georg. Lib.4.Elagiarum. In Pharmacent. Lib.2 de histor. animal. ca. 14. Lib.9.cap.17. de histor. anim In Pharmacent. G2Lib.18.cap.2. and lib.32.ca. 4. G3Lib. 17.cap.25.

Page 297

knight of Roma, was carried away and transported whole even as it stooode, to the other side of the high way: and contrariewise, all that other land which was on that other side of the way, was transported, as it had beene in manner of an exchange, into that very place where the garden stooode: so great force was there in charmes and enchantments. G1 And surely Homer telleth vs, that Vlysses did staunch the blood that ranne downe from his legge, being hurt by a wilde-boare, not by any hearbes, but by charmes." [Greek omitted], and c. "And this agreeth well with that saying of the Interpreter of Pindarus and Sephocles; who affirmeth, that the Antients did thinke, that by charmes a man might sometimes recover his health; [Greek omitted]. This was the cause that Theoprastus hath written, that those which are troubled with the disease called Ischiatica, are healed by charmes and spells: And the like saith Varro, of such as are diseased with the gowt: And Cato the Conser, touching cattell or oxen that have their legges broken or maimed.G2 First for gowtie persons, the manner to cure them, hee teacheth to be by vttering these words; Terrapestem tenoto, salvo maneto hie in meis pedibus: and repeating the same nine times, and kissing of the earth, and spetting vpon it; and that all this must be done fasting.G3 And for curing of oxen or cattell; if you take a reede or greene cane, and cut it asunder in the midst, and so binde it on both sides to the hippe or huckle bone of the said cattell or oxen, and singing these wordes; Danat à Dattes Astaries; or otherwise this: Haut, haut, haut Istagis, turgis Ardamabon Damavotr a; he saith it will cure them. And even Constantine the Empetour dooth cite a verse in Homer; which being pronounced, should hinder and keepe a man from being drunken.G4 And the auntient Mythologiques, and Orpheotrasta did attribute such a force to the verses of -notes- G1Odas. v. G2Lib. 1.de re Rust. G3In lib. de Agri. G4In Geoponicis.

Page 298

Orpheus: That they helde the pronouncing of them to have as much power; as the lewes did imagine to be in their Caball; which howsoever it was very superstitious; yet was not the same without his effectes.G1 Now if wee should come to the bandes of

love, caused and procured by charmes, we shall finde in Authors sufficient store of examples to that effect. And Virgil reporteth and setteth downe the very woordes which were vsually spoken to entangle and entrappe in the snares of love, such as are obstinate and vntractable. G2 Which woordes ioyned and vsed with a ceremonie of certaine knottes made in a riband or lace of three severall colours, were held to have such power, that they in whose name they were pronounced, should presently feelee themselves stricken in love. And to this purpose dooth Saint Ierome rehearse an historie of a certaine yoong man of Gaza in Siria, who being amorous, and falling in love with a yoong maiden his neighbour, and being not able to winne her to his desire, hee went to the Priests of Esculapius at Memphis; who gave vnto him I knowe not what charmes and strange figures written within a plate of copper which hee digged and conveyed, together with a lace or ribband, vnder the ground ell of the house where the maide dwelt. G3 Presently heereuppon the Divell seized vppon her: And she casting away her head-tyre from off her head, beganne to call vppon the name of the yoong man, and did desire and endeavour by all meanes shee coulde, that shee might be ledde to the place where hee was. But her Parents having a great care of her health and well dooing, ledde her to the Hermite Hilarion, who notwithstanding shee alleaged that she was inchaunted and bound by charms; yet for all that, didde perfectly heale her, and in the name of God, destroyed all the charmes and enchantments of the Divell. What shall I say more? All Authours both antient and moderne, are of one minde, -notes- G1[Greek omitted]. G2In Eclogis. Necte tribus nodis ternos Amarylli colores necte Amarylli nodo and veneris, dic, Vincula necte. G3In vita Hilarianis.

Page 299

and doe accord in this; That charmes have the power, not onely to woorke and procure love, to alter health, and to transport the frustes of the ground from one field or place to another; but to do also things farre more marvellous and woonderfull than these. The Magitians of Pharao (by their charmes) thought to make themselves equall with Moses the messenger of God. The Ephesians had certaine markes and magike wordes (I know not what) of inchantment, by which any thing whatsoever they did once attempt and enterprise, did succcede well and answerable to their desire. And such markes or characters (as Eustathius the Interpreter of Homer writeth) didde Cr sus vse at such time as hee was vppon the pile of wood ready to be burned by the commaundement of Cyrus. The Brachmans (as Strabo saith) did de not vse so much to heale and cure diseases by hearbs and

simples, as they did by charmes: And Iohn Leo the Affricane writeth, that in the high mountaines of Marocco there be three Apples of Gold of an inestimable price and value, the which are so wel and surely guarded by inchantments, that the kings of Fez, could never get to come neere them, albeit they have many and sundry times attempted the same. And that (which doth yet more shew the force and power of wordes) may bee seene in Galen, howe that a certaine Enchaunter did kill a Scorpion by the pronouncing of one onely worde. And although that Galen himselfe as a Naturahst, doth thinke to salve the matter by saying; that the enchanter did first spet, before he pronounced any thing, and that all the force was in his spettle, and not in his wordes: yet cannot he make any man beleewe, that the spettle or any excrement of a man, hath so much power, as to kill one so readily. G1 Moreover, the Conciliator named Peter de Athano a phisitian telles a great deale more than ever Galen knew, to wit that he himself saw a certaine euchaunter, who by murmuring certaine -notes- G1 Different. 156.

Page 300

wordes in the care of a bull, did make him fall to the ground sodainely, as if he had beene dead: and afterwards, with repeating the verie same words, did cause him to rise againe. G1 And this may verie well confirme that which is reported of Pithagoras, how by vertue of his charmes, he had the power to make tame and gentle both wolues and other beasts, which by nature were most fierce and cruell. G2 But now, because peradventure the Appellant, for fault of better defence, will excuse himself, and impute it to the force of Love, and will perhaps pleasantly cite certaine Doctours of our time, who doe hold it as a common and received opinion, that amorous person; allured and provoked by love, are excused from the ordinarie punishment of the crimes and offences by them committed: And it may be also, they will alleadge, that iudgement given by the Areopagites, who (as Aristetle reporteth) did acquite and set free from an accusation, a certaine woman that was convicted, that in her passion of love, she had given an amorous potion to her beloved, of the which he died within a short time after: yet thus much I must and will tell him, that how great and furious soever the love be, yet for all that, it ought not to excuse any person that shall vpon premeditation and advisedly, commit any publike crime worthie of exemplarie punishment: whatsoever the Doctours of latter times have faid to the contrarie: and notwithstanding that sentence of the Areopagites, the which ought not to bee accounted or reckoned of, as our owne lawes; which do punish with like and equall punishment, those that are

Sorcerers, and them that in an amorous passion do attempt the honour and chastitie of women, and doe temper amorous potions, whereby they cause the sicknesse or death of any persons.^{G3} And admit, their intentions be not to destroy and kill them; yet so it is, that the law which (as Dæmosthenes saith) [Greek omitted]: Doth currest alike all -notes- ^{G1}Piraquellus de pænis. ^{G2}Lib. 1. Magno. moralium.c.1 ^{G3}L.Si quis aliquid § aberhenis. D.de pæn. .d.l. verum. Damhouder in tract. simulum inris. In Orationes [Illegible line] I.s. D. de [Illegible word].

Page 301

crimes that are committed, though vnvoluntarily, as well as these that are voluntarie: doth likewise punish such persons as much, as if they had committed voluntarie and wilfull murder. Besides, the very Arts which they vse, are prohibited and forbidden, as being of themselves and in their owne nature evill; and are therefore punishable by death and other meanes, by which they may be restrained.^{G1} And to this purpose, we have the ordinance of King Charles the 8. recorded in Latine, which willeth, that all persons vsing any such Arts as are disallowed, and condemned by the Church and by the world vniversally, should be punished no lesse then Sorcerers, Diviners and Enchanters, and the same to be done by such ordinarie Iudges, as to whom the knowledge and determination thereof, doth directly appertaine. Vpon these reasons, the partie defendant in this Appeale concluded, that the cause had beene fully, rightly, and in all points well adiudged. And according to these and the like conclusions, the Court gave their iudgement, and ordained, that extraordinary processe should bee made and perfected against the Appellant." But I suppose, that this Discourse hitherto concerning charmes and enchauntments, and touching the divells mingling themselves with the externall or internall senses, hath beene extended sufficiently. It is now requisite that we go on to the matter itselfe of Specters and Apparitions, seeing we have to the vttermost of our endeavours, remooved and taken away the principall difficulties, and the most pregnant arguments that seemed to any hinderance or impediment, why faith or credite should not be yeelded vnto them. -notes- ^{G1}This ordinance was in the yeare 1490.

Table of Contents

Page 302

A Table of the Contents of the severall Chapters. The definition of a Specter or Apparition: and of the imagination, together with the severall kind, thereof. Cap.1. Of the diverse names and tearmes

which are often vsed in the matter of Specters. Cap.2. Of the opinions and Arguments of the Sadducees and Epicures, by which they would prove, that the Angels and Diuels doe not appeare vnto vs. Cap.3. Of the opinions and Arguments of the Perepatetiques, by which they would impugne the Aparitions of Spirits. Cap 4. Of the Arguments of those which denie that the Angels and Diuels can take vnto them a bodie. Cap 5. Of the opinions of the followers of Pirron the Sceptiques, and the Aporetiques: and what they alledged to shew: that the humane senses, and the imaginative power of man are false. Cap.6. That many things being meerey naturall, are taken by the sight or hearing being deceyved, for Specters and thinges prodigious. Cap 7. That things artificiall, as well as things naturall may sometimes deceyve the senses of the sight, and of the hearing, and drivd men into a passion of feare and terrour. Cap.8. That the Senses being altered and corrupted may easily bee deceyved. Cap.9. That the Fantasie corrupted doth receyve many false Impressions, and Specters, aswell as the senses. Cap.10. What persons are most commonly subiect o receyve also imaginations and Phantosmes, and to have the braine troubled and distracted. Cap.11. That the Divell doth sometimes convey and mingle himselfe in the Senses being corrupted, and in the phantasie offended, contrarie to the opinion of the naturall Philosophers, Cap.12.

Errata

Page 303

Errata. Fol.13, Lin.4: For plunge, reade plague. ibid. lin.6, for a reade or. fol 15, lin.3, for first, read French fol. 16, li.2, for strinæ, read stripes. fol.27, lin.19. for to, read so. fol.28, lin.16, for descend, read defend. fol.29, lin.9, for keepeth sight, reade keepeth the sight. fol, 36, lin.16. for hereby sheweth, reade hereby he sheweth. fol.37, lin.16, for their, read there. fol.45, lin.33, for metaphonall, read metaphorical. fol.46, lin.27, for but cannot, reade but it cannot. fol.47, lin. 3, for purefaction, reade rarefaction. fol.47, lin.33, for cannot, reade they cannot.fol, 48, lin.19, for difference that, read difference of that.fol. 51, lin.8, for siste, reade soft. fol. 51, lin.9, for doubt, read doubtfull.